l:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1958) 1960
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betel and sweets. The association has its own regulations and treasury. 575 857

The other boys' associations and the girls' associations help the *desa* in preparing and celebrating the *usaba* festivals, at which the girls appear as *rējangs* or dancing girls. The dancing of the boys is called *mĕbuang*. For their help to the *desa* at the time of the *usaba* in Kalima they are rewarded with the *lĕluputan*, a gift in paddy and money which goes into the associations' treasuries.

For the past forty years the boys' associations have owned a plot of land which the *desa* gave them as payment for roofing the new *bale agung*. Each of the boys' associations also has its own assembly and offering pavilion or *bale pĕtĕmuan*, which is also called *bale agung* in village writings and competes with the *bale agung desa* in beauty. Also in each of these pavilions there is a carved animal figure above one of the crossbeams of the roof. As has already been mentioned, each of the boys' associations also has an iron *gamĕlan sĕlunding*. [-32]

The resources of these associations are kept at their *subak*, that is to say the house of a married man who has a daughter and a son and has held the post of *pĕnyarikan* in the *desa* administration. Since for the *sĕkaha ţĕruna tĕmu kĕlod* no such person was to be found in the *sangyang tĕngĕn* class (a requirement in that *sĕkaha*), the association's resources are kept in the upper part of the *bale pĕtĕmuan*, which has been rebuilt into a strong storage place.

Though the young people's associations cannot refuse a request of the *desa* for help, they are completely independent as regards their resources. For example, the *desa* has to borrow the *gamĕlan sĕlunding* on festive occasions, while on the other hand it sometimes lends money to the boys' associations. The girls meet in their *gantih* or *subak*, which must fulfil the same requirements as the *subak* for the boys' associations.

No people from the *banjar* of Pande take part in the young people's associations, since there are no members of the *desa* association living in the *banjar*. In the *banjar* of Kĕstala, though there are no young people's associations there is a custom that young girls present the offerings, dancing as *rējangs*.

1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1958) 1960
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13 Van der Tuuk (*Woordenboek*, IV, 320, under *pangkonan*) speaks of a portion of rice for four persons pressed into a pyramid shape.

The Festival of Jayaprana at Kalianget

1 Specific cremations have been described by spectators in any number of articles. There are two studies on Balinese cremation in general: Wirz, *Totenkult;* and Crucq, *Bijdrage*. See also Goris & Dronkers, *Bali*, which contains a description of cremation (pp. 125 ff.).

2 Bateson & Mead, *Character*, 46.

3 According to the customary right of *champur*. *Cf.* Korn, *Adatrecht*, 38–39, 532–533.

4 For their activities, *cf.* Bhadra, "Mabasan".

5 Such a performance was the motive for the Dutch author Jef Last to write his play *Djajaprana*, which was first published in 1954. Further evidence of the interest in the theme was given in 1957, when a feature film entitled *Djajaprana* was released by the Indonesian national film company PFN; the story and scenario for the film were written by Katot Sukardi, who also directed the production. In 1958 Professor Hooykaas edited a critical edition of the text of the ballad: see Hooykaas, *Lay*. [Editorial note]

6 *Djajaprana*.

7 The old woman who introduced me to the village elders afterwards had to carry on a lengthy discussion with them in order to bring about a more friendly attitude towards the Dutch. Concerning her, *cf.* below, p. 258.

8 People in the *desa* stated that the families of the *anak agung* and the *patih*, the two persons who together were guilty of the murder, had asked permission to participate in the cremation. *Cf.* below, p. 259.

9 *Cf.* Korn, *Adatrecht*, 644. According to the ballad, Jayaprana was a *jaba*, an 'outsider', not belonging to one of the three upper castes. However, people essayed a study in 'textual criticism' and looked for a *lontar* containing data which would prove that Jayaprana was indeed a member of one of the upper castes. For that reason the *lontar* in the collection of the Liefrinck-Van der Tuuk Foundation was rejected.

10 Appropriation at a cremation of a rank above one's actual status at birth is punished by the gods: *cf.* Wirz, *Totenkult*, 37.

11 The pure-white cow is used as the cremation animal for Brahmins and *ksatriyas* (*ibid.*, 45). Remarkable was the absence of the dragon and the bird near the *damar kurung* (*ibid.*, 27), the two *dawang-dawang*, or dummies, which in northern Bali are never wanting in the *médeheng*. I was also told that for the construction of the cremation animals forbidden kinds of wood were used. As to the exclusive use of white for all objects, *cf.* below, p. 252. A lotus-seat is usually white enriched with gold; this one was exclusively white.

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THE BALINESE COSMOS

The World Turtle, Bedawang, and the Supreme Being, Tintiya
by Ida Bagus Togog, of Batuan

[Facing p. 6]

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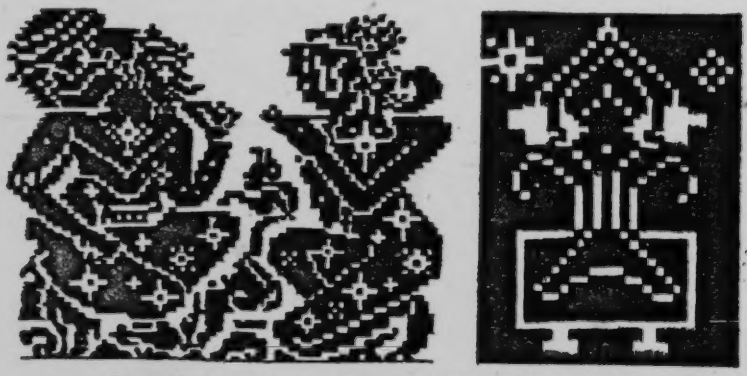
24 The Balinese also believe that human beings were sacrificed
386 in Tenganan to make dyes for their famous ceremonial scarfs, the
[782] *kamben gringsing*,[4] a cloth that, because it is supposed to be dyed
[826] with human blood, has the power to insulate the wearer against
[751] evil vibrations and is prescribed at all important Balinese rituals. These scarfs, in which the warp is left uncut, are much in demand by the Balinese. The *kamben gringsing* is a loosely woven, narrow scarf of thick cotton with intricate designs in rich tones of rust-red, beige, and black against a yellowish background. The

[532]
[286]



Human Motifs woven on the *Kamben Gringsing*

process of dying and weaving is unbelievably long and complicated, and over five years are required from the time the cotton is prepared to the finished scarf, according to Korn. The threads are left in each of the dyes for months, macerated in kemiri oil for months to fix each colour, and then dried in the sun for months after each stage. The design is obtained by the double "ikat" process (*ikat*, "to tie"): that is, the threads of both the warp and weft are patterned previous to the weaving. To do this warp and weft are stretched on frames, and groups of threads are tightly bound with fibres at certain points before they are dipped

[171] [4] *Kamben* means simply "cloth," "article of dress"; *gringsing* means "flaming," "mottled" like an orchid. Single *ikat*, where only the warp is "ikated," is common throughout Indonesia, and some are famous, like the large shawls from Sumba, Sumbawa, Roti, and Flores, which are highly prized; but a "double *ikat*" is extremely rare; besides those from Tenganan, others known are from Gujirat in India and simple shawls made in Zurich, Switzerland (according to Ikle).

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into the dye, so that the tied part remains uncoloured to produce the design. This is repeated with each colour, the part already dyed also protected by the fibre binding. When the threads are finally coloured and ready to be woven, the design of the weft is fitted exactly into the one on the warp, and a mistake spoils the work of years. Taking into consideration the laboriousness of the dyeing, the painstaking, difficult weaving, and the mystery that surrounds the secret process, it is easy to understand why the popular mind has endowed the *kamben gringsing* with such extraordinary powers. In Tenganan the scarfs are an essential part of ceremonial dress, and I-Tanggú told me that if he sold his he would lose his place in the village council. Only the finest scarfs are worn in Tenganan; imperfect ones or those in which the dyes fail to produce the required tones are sold to outsiders.

In North Bali, on the slopes of the Batur, above Tedjakula, is the Bali Aga village of Sembiran, where even the daily language is different from that of the rest of Bali. There, as in Tenganan, the " temple " is a group of rough stone altars surrounded by a neglected fence. It is hidden in the jungle near the edge of a deep ravine, a dangerous haunted place, where not even the people of Sembiran would venture alone. In Sembiran the dead are not buried; after washing the corpse, it is wrapped in new cloth, carried to the edge of the ravine, and deposited on a bamboo platform with offerings, consecrated water, and the belongings of the deceased. There it is left for three days; if, after that, it has not disappeared, this means that the spirits did not care to take it, so it is thrown unceremoniously into the ravine to be eaten by wild beasts.

There are many other mountain villages that have resisted the influence of Hinduism. Although not as extraordinary as Tenganan and Sembiran, they are equally conservative Bali Aga, like Trunyan on the shores of Lake Batur, where the largest statue in Bali is kept, that of Ratú Gedé Pantjering Djagat, powerful patron guardian of the village. There is Taro, the home of Kbó Iwá, a fearful giant of pre-Hindu days who was so great that there

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was never enough food to feed him and he went about eating people. To provide him with a place to sleep, the villagers of Taro built the longest council house in Bali. He is supposed to have carved all the ancient monuments and sculptured caves with his own fingernails. In the highlands between the Batur and the Bratan, the Gunung Agung and the Batukau, there are many Bali Aga villages, and in some, like Selulung, Batukaang, and Tjatur, there are remains of ancient and primitive monuments; stone statues and small pyramids, some of which are purely Indonesian in character, while others show early Hindu, perhaps Buddhist influence. In the Bali Aga villages there is much that remains of the ancient race who once inhabited all of Bali, but who were to become the fascinating Balinese of today.

NOTES ON THE HISTORY OF BALI

It seems difficult to reconcile the soft-mannered, peace-loving Balinese we know with the intrigue and violence of their turbulent past. For a thousand years the history of the island is a series of wars and heroic episodes that reached a dramatic climax only thirty years ago when the Balinese made a desperate but futile last stand against a modern army.

Bali was under the rule of Javanese kings from the earliest days of Hindu Java, but we first hear of Balinese dynasties in the tenth century of our era. In 991 A.D. a child was born of a Balinese king and a Javanese princess. He was named Erlangga and was sent to Java to marry a princess and to become a local chief in the kingdom of his father-in-law. Dharmawangsa, the ruler, was murdered suddenly and Erlangga took charge, saving the kingdom from total collapse and bringing it into even greater glory. Erlangga ruled during thirty difficult years, creating a strong bond between Java and his native Bali, which was then governed by Erlangga's brother in his name. Then, as befits a model hero of Hindu ideas, Erlangga suddenly renounced the kingdom he had made great and died a hermit under the guidance of his religious teacher, Mpú Bharada. Erlangga's kingdom was nearly

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or *bandjar* to act as mediators for a friendly settlement. Disputes concerning ricefields or irrigation water are settled by the council of a special agricultural society, the *subak*. Should it become necessary to adopt a strong decision, the village council votes for a verdict.

In any case the village heads leave no stone unturned for a quick settlement of the affair to prevent its becoming involved in a legal court procedure, which is always distasteful to them, and it is only as a last resort, when all other resources have failed and passions are very much aroused, that the Balinese will appeal to the official high tribunal, the *kerta*.

The repugnance of the people against having to appeal to the *kerta* is only part of the Balinese policy of keeping the princes from interfering too much in their affairs. The *kertas* are the courts of the princes and they are generally composed of three Brahmanic priests who act as judges. They are assisted by a number of *kantjas*, "lawyers," and a scribe.

Trials take place in a special shed, built over a high stone or brick platform. The Kerta Gosa, the court house of Klungkung, one of the inevitable sights of Bali, is already famous because of the lurid paintings that cover the entire ceiling, depicting the punishments that await a law-breaker in hell. The court house is beautifully decorated; two stone serpents flank the stairs that lead to the platform where the judges sit on great gilt chairs.

A trial must be conducted with the greatest dignity and restraint. There are rules for the language employed, the behaviour of the participants, and the payment of trial expenses. It is interesting that court procedure resembles that of cockfights in its rules and terminology. On the appointed day the plaintiff and the defendant must appear properly dressed, with their witnesses, and their cases and declarations carefully written down. An absentee or one whose case is badly stated loses his suit. The *kantjas* read the statements of each party and then those of the witnesses in their successive order. No one is allowed to speak unless he is addressed. Talking excessively or too loud, quarrel-

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coconut wood. Generally one or two sides of the *balé* are protected by a low wall and between the house posts are built-in beds or platforms of wood with springs of bamboo, also called *balés*, where distinguished guests sit cross-legged to eat, or where, with a mattress added and screened by a curtain, they are put up for the night.

In Belaluan everybody was up even before the first rays of the sun outlined the jagged tops of the coconut palms, awakened by the raucous crowings of the fighting cocks. In the indigo semi-darkness of the dawn the women were busily sweeping the yard and bringing water from the village spring. The first thought of the men was for their pets; to line up the bell-shaped cages of the fighting cocks out on the road by the gate so that the roosters might "amuse themselves watching people go by." The cages of the cooing doves were strung up on high poles for them to enjoy the morning air and the sunshine, and the flocks of pigeons, trained to fly in circles over the house, were released for their morning exercise. As protection from birds of prey, they had small brass bells around their necks that produced various humming sounds as they flew round and round until they tired, when they came down to be fed.

After a refreshing bath the men started for the fields without breakfast, taking along a snack – rice boiled inside of little diamond-shaped containers of palm-leaf called *ketipat*. More substantial food was taken to them later if they had to remain in the fields all day, but they returned at noon for lunch if there was not much work or if the *sawas* were near. Meanwhile the women fetched sheaves of unhusked rice from the granary, spread them on the ground to dry in the sun, filled the *gebah* – the large water-basin in the kitchen – and started the fire for the day's cooking.

A kitchen is a simple roof of coarse thatch supported by four posts, with a bamboo platform at one end – the kitchen table – and a primitive mud stove at the other. Often a crude figure is modelled out of the same clay of which the hearth is made to

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preside over the kitchen. It is called *brahma*, not the supreme lord of the Hindus, but simply meaning "fire," an animistic fire god.

The food that Balinese gourmets eat at festivals is as elaborate as any in the world and will be described later in detail, but the daily meal is extremely simple. A mound of boiled cold rice with salt and chili-pepper was sufficient, our house-boy Dog claimed, to keep body and soul together for a Balinese like himself. The daily diet of Gusti and his noble family was the same cold white rice (*nasi*, a synonym for food in general), helped, however, by a side dish of vegetables chopped together with a dozen or so of spices, aromatics, grated coconut and the hottest chili-pepper in the world.

Gusti's wives did the cooking; Siloh Biang prepared the rice while Sagung scraped coconut in a *kikian*, a board bristling with little iron points, chopped the ingredients for the sauce, or fried them in coconut oil in an iron pan (*pengorengan*). Some eat their daily rice simply boiled in a clay pot, but in our household they preferred it steamed; they washed the grain repeatedly until the waters lost their milky colour and came out transparent, boiled it for a while, and when it was half done put it into a funnel-shaped basket (*kukusan*) covered with a heavy clay lid (*kekeb*) and steamed the whole over a special pot (*dangdang*) of boiling water. From time to time some of the boiling water was poured over the rice with a ladle of coconut shell to prevent it from drying up and sticking together. The result was a deliciously dry, separate rice that served as a medium for the peppery sauces. The food was prepared with cleanliness, everything carefully washed first, and the food covered until eaten with squares of banana leaf.

As soon as the rice was done, they prepared a tray of offerings (*ngedjot*) for the spirits that haunt the house: little squares of banana leaf, each with a few grains of rice, a flower, salt, and a dash of chili-pepper. No one could eat before the little portions were distributed in front of each of the house units: at the en-

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ing was placed on the ground. Nobody cared, however, since they were intended for evil spirits, which might, perhaps, be embodied in the dogs.

There were no set meal hours and they ate whenever they felt hungry. A little before noon the men returned from work after

Manner of Drinking
(design scratched on a bamboo drinking-bottle)

taking a bath in the spring or in a river and sat casually somewhere near the kitchen, often turning their backs silently on each other because a person who is eating should not be spoken to. Each was given his portion of rice with its complementary sauce in a square of banana leaf which he held in the hollow of the left hand while the right acted as spoon and fork. The use of dishes and cutlery is to the Balinese an unclean and repulsive foreign habit. Balinese who use plates invariably place a square

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CHAPTER VI

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The Wedding of Rama and Sita (from a Balinese painting)

THE FAMILY

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"AFTER THE WORLD, the mountains, and the cardinal directions were created, and there were trees, fruits, and flowers, the gods made four human beings out of red earth, whom they provided with utensils to work with and houses to live in. Batara Siwa, the Supreme Lord, next made four mature girls for wives of the four men. The god of love, Batara Semara, made mating a pleasure so that the women would be fertilized, and eventually the four couples had many children: 117 boys and 118 girls, who

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[532]

Kidnapping (from a Balinese painting)

enraged father is supposed to run up the alarm-drum-tower and 584
beat the *kulkul*, asking who took his daughter; but of course no 683
one knows. Even a searching party may be organized simply for the fun of it; after a while they return breathless but empty-

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CHAPTER VII

ART AND THE ARTIST

THE PLACE OF THE ARTIST IN BALINESE LIFE

Everybody in Bali seems to be an artist. Coolies and princes, priests and peasants, men and women alike, can dance, play musical instruments, paint, or carve in wood and stone. It was often surprising to discover that an otherwise poor and dilapitated village harboured an elaborate temple, a great orchestra, or a group of actors of repute.

One of the most famous orchestras in Bali is to be found in the remote mountain village of Selat, and the finest dancers of *legong* were in Saba, an unimportant little village hidden among the ricefields. Villages such as Mas, Batuan, Gelgel, are made up of families of painters, sculptors, and actors, and Sanur produces, besides priests and witch-doctors, fine story-tellers and dancers. In Sebatu, another isolated mountain village, even the children can carve little statues from odd bits of wood, some to be used as bottle-stoppers, perches for birds, handles, but most often simply absurd little human figures in comic attitudes, strange animals, birds of their own invention, frogs, snakes, larvæ of insects, figures without reason or purpose, simply as an outlet for their creative urge. In contrast to the devil-may-care primitive works of Sebatu are the super-refined, masterful carvings from Badung, Ubud, Pliatan, and especially those by the family of

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181 517 565 permit the centralization of the artistic knowledge in a special intellectual class. In old Balinese books on ethics, like the *Niti Sastra*, it is stated that a man who is ignorant of the writings is like a man who has lost his speech, because he shall have to remain silent during the conversation of other men. Furthermore, it was a requirement for the education of every prince that he should know mythology, history, and poetry well enough; should learn painting, woodcarving, music, and the making of musical instruments; should be able to dance and to sing in Kawi, the classic language of literature. There is hardly a prince who does not possess a good number of these attributes, and those deprived of talent themselves support artists, musicians, and actors as part of their retinue. Ordinary people look upon their feudal lords as models of conduct and do not hesitate to imitate them, learning their poetry, dancing, painting, and carving in order to be like them.

Thus, not only the aristocracy can create informal beauty, but a commoner may be as finished an artist as the educated nobleman, although he may be an agriculturist, a tradesman, or even a coolie. Our host in Bali was a prince and a musician, but there [533] were others of the common class who were among the finest musicians of the neighbourhood. Of the leaders of the famous orchestras of our district, one was a coolie, another a goldsmith, and a third a chauffeur.

● 532 Until a few years ago the Balinese did not paint pictures or make statues without some definite purpose. It has often been stated that there are no words in the Balinese language for "art" and "artist." This is true and logical; making a beautiful offering, and carving a stone temple gate, and making a set of masks are tasks of equal æsthetic importance, and although the artist is regarded as a preferred member of the community, there is no separate class of artists, and a sculptor is simply a "carver" or a figure-maker, and the painter is a picture-maker. A dancer [535] is a *legong*, a *djanger*, and so forth – the names of the dances they perform.

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The artist is in Bali essentially a craftsman and at the same time an amateur, casual and anonymous, who uses his talent knowing that no one will care to record his name for posterity. His only aim is to serve his community, seeing that the work is well done when he is called to embellish the temple of the village, or when he carves his neighbour's gate in exchange for a new roof or some other similar service. Actors and musicians play for the feasts of the village without pay, and when they perform for private festivals they are lavishly entertained and banqueted instead. Foreigners have to pay a good amount for a performance: from five to thirty guilders according to the quality of the show and the pretensions of the actors; but a Balinese who calls the village's orchestra or a troupe of actors for a home festival provides special food, refreshments, *sirih*, and cigarettes for them. If he pays a small amount besides, from a guilder to five, it is not considered as remuneration, but rather as a present to help the finances of the musical or theatrical club. Whatever money they receive goes to the funds of the association to cover the expenses of the feasts given by the club or to buy new costumes or instruments.

Nothing in Bali is made for posterity; the only available stone is a soft sandstone that crumbles away after a few years, and the temples and reliefs have to be renewed constantly; white ants devour the wooden sculptures, and the humidity rots away all paper and cloth, so their arts have never suffered from fossilization. The Balinese are extremely proud of their traditions, but they are also progressive and unconservative, and when a foreign idea strikes their fancy, they adopt it with great enthusiasm as their own. All sorts of influences from the outside, Indian, Chinese, Javanese, have left their mark on Balinese art, but they are always translated into their own manner and they become strongly Balinese in the process.

Thus the lively Balinese art is in constant flux. What becomes the rage for a while may be suddenly abandoned and forgotten when a new fashion is invented, new styles in music or in the

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177 53 theatre, or new ways of making sculptures and paintings. But the traditional art also remains, and when the artists tire of a new idea, they go back to the classic forms until a new style is again invented. They are great copyists and it is not surprising to find in a temple, as part of the decoration, a fat Chinese god or a scene representing a highway hold-up, or a crashing plane, events unknown in Bali, that can only be explained as having been copied from some Western magazine. Once a young Balinese painter saw my friend Walter Spies painting yellow high-lights on the tips of the leaves of a jungle scene. He went home and made a painting that was thoroughly Balinese, but with modelling and high-lights until then unknown in Balinese painting. [424] Artistic property cannot exist in the communal Balinese culture; if an artist invents or copies something that is an interesting novelty, soon all the others are reproducing the new find. Once a sculptor made a little statue representing the larvæ of an insect standing upright on its tail; a few weeks later everybody was making them and soon the statue market was flooded with Brancusi-like little erect worms on square bases.

532 517 Unlike the individualistic art of the West in which the main concern of the artist is to develop his personality in order to create an easily recognizable style as the means to attain his ultimate goal – recognition and fame – the anonymous artistic production of the Balinese, like their entire life, is the expression of collective thought. A piece of music or sculpture is often the work of two or more artists, and the pupils of a painter or a sculptor invariably collaborate with their master. The Balinese artist builds up with traditional standard elements. The arrangement and the general spirit may be his own, and there may even be a certain amount of individuality, however subordinated to the local style. There are definite proportions, standard features, peculiar garments, and so forth to represent a devil, a holy man, a prince, or a peasant, and the personality of a given character is determined, not so much by physical characteristics, but rather by sartorial details. The romantic heroes, Ardjuna, Rama, and

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Pandji, look exactly alike and can only be recognized by the head-dress peculiar to each. A strong differentiation is made between "fine" and "coarse" characters; Ardjuna, for instance, is refined, with narrow eyes and delicate features, while his brother, the warrior Bhima, has wild round eyes and wears a moustache. He is further identified by his chequered loincloth.

The Balinese obtain their artistic standards of beauty from ancient Java, and for centuries there has been only one way to treat a beautiful face; which they have, curiously enough, come to identify with themselves. Once, discussing the facial characteristics of various races with the Regent of Karangasem, a man of high Balinese education, he asked me how I drew a Balinese. He disagreed with my conception and proceeded to draw one himself, a face from the classic paintings and a type that could not be found on the whole island. Within these conventions, Balinese art is realistic without being photographic – that is, without attempting to give the optical illusion of the real thing. Thus there is no perspective and no modelling in painting, and sculpture is highly stylized. They admire technique and good craftsmanship above other points, and when I showed a Balinese friend a beautiful sculpture I had just acquired, he found fault with the minute parallel grooves that marked the strands of hair because in places they ran together.

Balinese art is not in the class of the "great" arts like great Chinese painting – the conscious production of works of art for their own sake, with an æsthetic value apart from their function. Again, it is too refined, too developed, to fit into peasant arts; nor is it one of the primitive arts, those subject to ritual and tribal laws, which we call "primitive" because their æsthetics do not conform to ours. Their art is a highly developed, although informal Baroque folk-art that combines the peasant liveliness with the refinement of the classicism of Hinduistic Java, but free of conservative prejudice and with a new vitality fired by the exuberance of the demoniac spirit of the tropical primitive. The Balinese peasants took the flowery art of ancient Java, itself an

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517 offshoot of the aristocratic art of India of the seventh and eighth
532 centuries, brought it down to earth, and made it popular property.

Although at the service of religion, Balinese art is not a religious art. An artist carves ludicrous subjects in the temples or embellishes objects of daily use with religious symbols, using them purely as ornamental elements regardless of their significance. The Balinese carve or paint to tell the only stories they know — those created by their intellectuals, the religious teachers of former times.

THE STORY OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF BALINESE ART

175 The art history of Bali runs parallel to the history of the island
53 itself. When Bali became a colony of Java, the conquering aristocracy brought their art with them, and every political event in Java has had a powerful influence in the development of Balinese culture. Thus, the early classic period of Javanese art corresponds also to a classic period in Bali, and when the mother country suffered disturbances and transformations, these were reflected in Balinese art, until Islamism and political chaos severed all connections between the two islands, and Hinduism had to find refuge in Bali. As the island became the centre of a new empire and no longer a province of Java, the Balinese natives took over the art of the exiled aristocracy, transformed it to suit their taste, and a typical Balinese art came into being.

Nothing definite is known of the art of pre-Hindu Bali, but
174 we know that the old Indonesian had a culture of its own, per-
53 haps like the present one of the people of Nias and the Bataks of Sumatra, to whom the Balinese are in many ways akin. They worked metals, especially iron for the making of magic krisses; cultivated rice, had a well-organized administration, kept domestic animals, and made splendid textiles. Outside of a stone sarcophagus, some bronze bracelets and arrow-heads found in Petang, probably belonging to people of Hinduistic affiliation,

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no material traces of their megalithic monuments remain, or have yet been found, perhaps because archæological excavation has hardly begun in Bali. But a great deal of the old Indonesian spirit has remained in the daily life of the people, not only among the Bali Agas, but also alongside the Hinduism of the ordinary Balinese. As we shall see later, there are definite traces of what could have been the art of pre-Hindu times found today in the offerings, in the patterns of textiles, in certain sculptures, and the like.

Antiques are scarce in Bali, although there are thousands of mossy and battered statues all over the island, often of a more primitive style than the usual contemporary art. But a newly made statue appears of great age after six months of exposure to the damp climate of Bali, and, on the other hand, many ancient statues resemble those made in recent years. Many of the innumerable remains found in the temples, in jungles, or imbedded in the trunk of a *waringin* may easily be contemporary.

We made a sport of going out with Walter Spies into remote districts to find objects of what we called "native" Balinese style, and often located figures in wood, stone, and even clay that showed no trace of Hindu influence. There were demons, girls, primitive animals, and alarm-drums with faces carved on them that were reminiscent of Dyak, Batak, and Polynesian art. Spies is an enthusiast for the "megalithic" art and he has discovered many strange stones with primitive carvings, such as the stone in Bebitera, or the magnificent stone altar in Batukandik in the little island of Nusa Penida: a pyramid twelve feet high surmounted by the torso of a woman with large breasts, supporting on her head a stone throne like those from Nias, with two roosters standing on her shoulders, their heads resting on the palms of her hands. The style of the monument is decidedly Indonesian and so are the two little shrines, also in the same village, with well-defined signs of being one male, the other female. I was invited to accompany Assistant Controleur Grader and Spies on an expedition into the wilds between the mountains

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532 Batur and Bratan; descending slippery ravines, into jungles, and
114 up steep hills, we found many old statues overgrown with vegetation, some of which seemed from early Buddhist days, while others looked as if Hinduism had never penetrated into those districts. Particularly interesting were the pyramids and strange carvings in wood in Sanda and Selulung; or the Polynesian-looking statues in Batukaang and Pengadjaran.

534 Perhaps the most remarkable of antiquities in Bali is the great
713 bronze drum kept in the *Pura Panataran Sasih* in Pedjeng, the former home of the demon-king Maya Danawa. Some Balinese say that it is one of the *subangs* (ear-plugs) of the moon, while others say it is a *Sasih*, the "moon" itself, that fell down to earth and was caught in a tree. It remained there giving a blinding light, preventing some thieves of the neighbourhood from performing their nocturnal work. One of them, bolder than the rest, decided to extinguish the source of light and, climbing on the tree, urinated on it. The "moon" exploded, killing the thief, and fell to the ground in the shape of the present drum, which explains why it is broken at the base. The people rescued it and placed it on a high latticed shrine in the temple. The drum is
534 of the style of the so-called Chinese drums of the Han dynasty
171 often found in Indo-China and even in Java, but it is the largest
531 and most beautiful I have ever seen. The Pedjeng drum differs somewhat from the usual Han drums; it is elongated, with three great handles, rather like the bronze drums found in Alor, the island near Timor, where they are still used as money, some being worth as much as three thousand guilders.[1] The drum is decorated on its sounding surface with a beautiful star in high relief surrounded by a border of sweeping spirals, and on its sides with borders between parallel lines rather like the popular design called "spears" (*tumbak*) by the Balinese: ▼▼▼▼▼▼▼. Furthermore, there are strangely primitive, or rather conventionalized, human faces in low relief that have no obvious relation to Chinese art and that are strongly Indonesian, with the

[1] Ernst Vatter: *Ata Kiwan.*

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172 211 *Gunung Kawi:* On the banks of the river Pakrisan, descending a steep ravine, is a group of sober, undecorated monuments shaped like the ancient burial towers (*tjandí*), hewn out of the solid rock, each inside of a niche, four on one side and five on the other. To the right of the main group is a sort of monastery with coves also carved out of the rock, arranged around a central cell with a platform in the centre. The monuments are supposed to belong to the eleventh century, when cremation had not yet been introduced into Bali, and Lekkerkerker thinks the cells were probably destined to expose the corpses to be obliterated by decay and wild animals, such as was the custom among Indonesians, and as is still practised in Sembiran in Bali and by the Toradjas in Celebes, where it is now forbidden by the Dutch. The monuments were only discovered in 1920, but the Balinese knew them, and saw them with reverence because they attributed them to the giant of mythical times, Kbo Iwá, who is supposed to have carved all the ancient monuments with his own fingernails. The natives formerly called the tombs *Djalú*, but the present placename, *Gunung Kawi*, means "mountain of poetry" or "mountain of antiquity."

[764]

172 ● 532 *Bukit Darma:* In Kutrí near Bedulu there is another antiquity of the classic period, also related to Erlangga. It is the beautiful statue of Mahendradatta, Erlangga's mother, as the goddess of death, Durga. It is preserved in the sanctuary of *Bukit Darma*, which archæologists believe to be the burial site of Erlangga's mother. The statue is badly worn, but it can still be seen that it was of the purest classic lines.

Goa Gadja: Together with *Gunung Kawi*, the best known relic of the ancient art is the famous "Elephant Cave" near Bedulu. Goa Gadja is a great hollowed rock, perhaps the former residence of a hermit, elaborately carved on the outside, covered with representations of stylized rocks, forests, waves, animals, and people running in panic because directly over the entrance is the head of a great monster with bulging eyes who splits the rock with his enormous fat hands. Nieuwenkamp says that it may represent Pasupati, who divided the mountain Mahameru into two parts and, taking them in his hands, placed each half in Bali as the Gunung Agung and the

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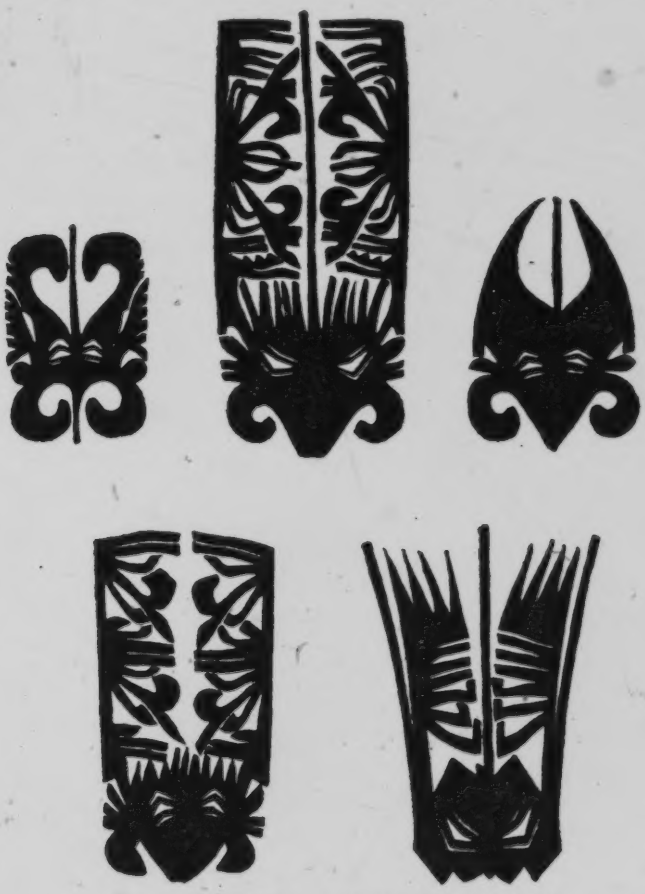
Batur. There are a number of ancient stone water-spouts outside the cave, and on the inside is a statue of Ganesa in a central niche, with a *linga* on either side. The Goa Gadja dates also from the



Sapsap, Tjili Faces cut out of Palm-Leaf

eleventh century and perhaps receives the popular name of "Elephant Cave" because of the statue, inside, of the god Ganesa, shaped like an elephant. But Goris attributes the name to the fact that the river Petanu, which runs near the cave, was called in old times *Lwa Gadja*, the "elephant river." Elephants have never ex-

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Elephants have never ex-
172 isted in Bali and the elephant motifs that appear so frequently in
● 332 Balinese art were importations from India or Java. As of Gunung
[136] Kawi, Kbo Iwá is also, according to popular belief, the author of the cave. Other hermitages with rock reliefs are the one near by called Toya Pulú; the Goa Racksasa near Ubud; Djakut Pakú, both on the river Oös (Uwos); and the caves near Kapal in Badung.

Pedjeng: In the ricefields approaching Pedjeng there is a beautiful stone water-spout in the shape of a youthful hermit holding in his hand a small human figure out of whose body once issued a stream of water. Farther on, in what appears to be the former site of a temple, are scattered fragments of classic statues; an altar of human skulls; the vague silhouette of a slim woman, covered with damp moss, fallen and half buried. The most complete statue is that of a wild raksasa crowned with skulls and about to drink from a larger, stylized human skull. In Pura Panataran Sasíh, the temple where the bronze drum is kept, there are a number of ancient statues, the majority being commemorative statues of former kings.

Panulisan: In the ruins of pura Panulisan on the mountain of the same name, are some fine statues of kings from the eleventh century.
[778] The temple was destroyed by an earthquake and despite the fact that it is regarded as of great holiness, an extravagant stairway of cement has been built to reach it, but the temple has not been repaired. Today one may visit the ruins only with a written permit from the local pungawa.

Other statues worthy of mention are the figures of Durga in the temple Pondjok Batú on the road to Tedjakula in North Bali and the great statue of Dewa Ratú Pantjering Djagat, over twelve feet high, the largest statue in Bali, kept jealously out of sight in the tower (meru) of the temple Trunyan, a Bali Aga
[778] village on the eastern shore of Lake Batur. The statue is considered very old and is held to have magic power. No one is allowed even to go into the tower, unless it is the selected "virgin" boys (truna) of the village, who on certain dates clean and paint the statue with a mixture of chalk, honey, and water,
[114] accompanied by elaborate carefully observed ceremonials. An

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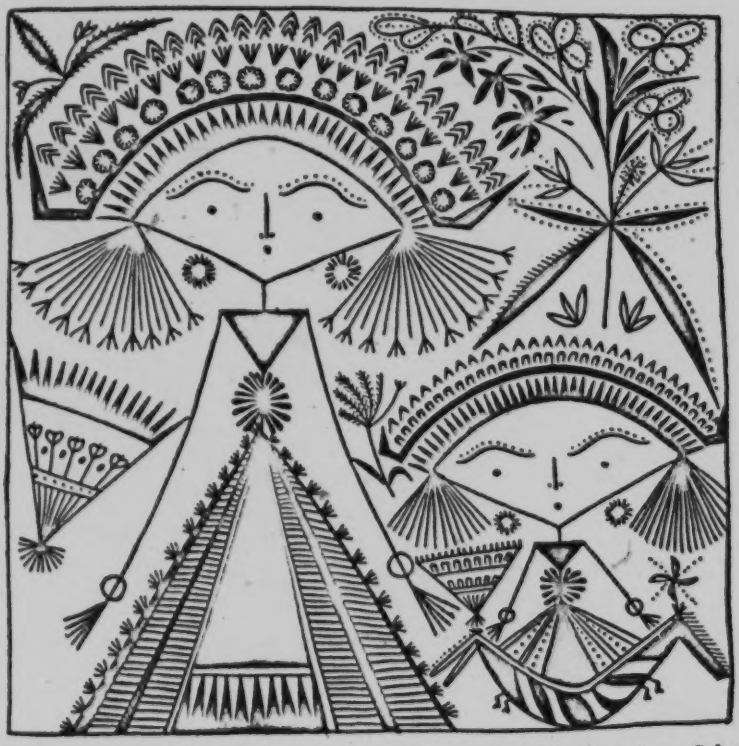
excellent description of this interesting feast has been written by Walter Spies in "Das Grosse Fest auf Trunjan" (see Bibliography). The ancient Balinese also left a number of ancient bronzes cast by the *cire perdue* process, some in the form



Tjilis painted in Black and Fuchsia on a Rice Cake (*Djadjan*) from Selat

of plates with inscriptions, drums, and little statues of deities and kings, some classic in style like the beautiful ones found in Java, others of a more primitive, perhaps local style. All of these antiquities are not in museums, but are still the property of the people, kept in the temples and honoured because of their antiquity, brought out of their wrappings once a year on the occasion of the temple feast of the village.

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THE PERIOD OF MADJAPAHIT

175 After the death of Erlangga, Java went once more into decadence as a power, and various frustrated attempts to regain its former glory followed. During this period the hold on Bali relaxed and the island regained its political independence until the fourteenth century, when the new East Javanese empire of Madjapahit finally conquered its enemies and became supreme over the archipelago. Bali was made a vassal of Madjapahit, A.D. 1343, after vigorous campaigns against the famed Dalam Bedaulu, last of the Pedjeng dynasty and now classed as a mythical demon of great power.

After Bali was conquered, the generals of Madjapahit established a new dynasty of Javanese colonial rulers in Gelgel near Klungkung. A century later Madjapahit collapsed under the pressure of Islam, and Javanese rule finally gave way to a number of independent Balinese feudal lords, the descendants of the Javanese nobility, who were scattered all over the island. But in the period of years between the classic Sailendras and parvenu Madjapahit the art of Java suffered a great transformation, which was similarly felt in Bali. Under King Rayasanagara (Raja-
175 sanagara), better known by his native name *Hayam Wuruk*,
177 Madjapahit became the most powerful empire of Indonesia, but
532 being strong nationalists, the Javanese of Madjapahit had repudiated the esoteric classic spirit and had reverted to native ideas, with the result that their art became strongly Javanized. Having lost its austerity and primitivism in the process, their art became earthly and realistic, taking the character of a sen-
[531] suous folk-art, intricate and essentially decorative, with a predominance of flaming motifs, volutes and spirals, leaves and flowers, animals and scenes from daily life; losing altogether its religious character.

177 Balinese art of the epoch of Madjapahit and its continuation
532 went even further in the love of unrestrained decoration and developed a freer and more fantastic art than that of Java of

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the same time. Although resembling the style of the ruins of Panataran in East Java, Balinese art is not the art of Java transplanted into Bali, but a parallel art, made even more Baroque by additional decorative elements from China. Tropical vegetation in stone invaded the architecture in the same way that

Tjilí from a Clay Tile

the living creepers and parasites would engulf an abandoned monument in the hothouse atmosphere of Bali.

THE PLASTIC ARTS IN MODERN BALI

Sculpture and Architecture: The primary function of the average sculptor is to enhance the public buildings of his community with florid decoration and judging from the profusion of such carved temple and palace walls, gates, drum-towers, public baths, court houses, and so forth, seen even in the remotest districts, one comes to the conclusion that there must be an enormous

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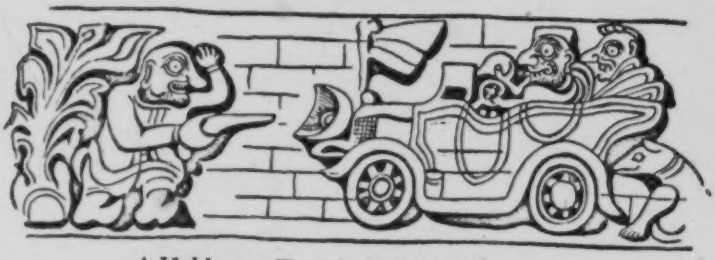
346 drinking beer; a soldier raping a girl; or a man on a bicycle with
531 two great flowers for wheels. Fantastic pornographic subjects
[881] are always a source of hilarious comedy and in many temples in
[522] both North and South Bali such subjects are found as temple decorations. As if the mad tangle of stone vegetation were not enough, in North Bali they outline the decorations with white paint to make them even more conspicuous, and in villages like Babetin, Ringdikit, and Djagaraga the overpowering decoration



A Hold-up, a Temple Relief in Djagaraga

is painted in bright blue, red, and yellow, giving as a result the wildest and most unrestrained effects.

322 The art of wood-carving has suffered a curious transformation
532 since our first visit to Bali in 1930. Then the majority of the objects carved in wood were made for utilitarian purposes: from carved doors and beams for houses, musical instruments, masks for dramatic shows, handles for implements, to little statues of deities and other ritual accessories. These were of the conventional contemporary Balinese style: flowers and curlicues in high relief for flat surfaces (*ukiran*), and for sculpture in the round (*togog*), statues of divinities, demons, and other characters of mythology dressed in classical attire and profusely ornamented. Furthermore, all wood-carvings were meant to be covered with paint, lacquer, or goldleaf and only in exceptional cases was the wood left in its raw state. There were unusual pieces, but they
532 were freaks among the predominant styles.

322 Travellers had started to buy Balinese carvings, however, and
439

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on our return to Bali three years later, the Balinese sculptors were turning out mass-production "objets d'art" for tourists. Even before arriving in Bali for the second time, we found the curio-shops of Macassar and Java filled with statuettes of a decidedly commercial style which was totally new to us. Before this we had made acquaintance with Gusti Ngurah Gedé, an old man of Pemetjutan rated among the best sculptors of South Bali. Although Gusti Gedé was so old that he talked with difficulty,

Relief in the Temple of Kubutambahan

he could carve the most delicate motifs in hard wood with a precision and sureness envied by the younger sculptors. He had started to make realistic little statues of nude girls, bathing, combing their hair, or in the process of undressing, masterfully carved out of a fine-grained white wood, figures that found ready sale among travellers. This was perhaps the beginning of a new art in which the sculptor began working for a new public: tourists who had little appreciation of the technical perfection demanded by the Balinese, or foreign artists who preferred line and form to intricate ornamentation.

This necessarily introduced the mercenary element into Balinese art, until then non-existent; prices were boosted and the sculptor suddenly became aware that there was a good income in making statues. On the other hand, this same condition gave

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the art a new impulse, and sculptors sprang up like mushrooms. Soon every important artistic centre, such as Den Pasar, Mas, Batuan, Pliatan, and Ubud, was turning out quantities of carvings in new styles, mediocre heads of *djanger* dancers snatched up by round-the-world tourists, stereotyped slim figures from Mas exported to Java and Holland; while the splendid sculptors from Badung and Batuan carved coconut shells from Bangli and so forth.

Gusti Gedé was also the master of a school of sculptors and every morning boys from the town went to his house to receive lessons and to assist him. Some of his pupils were already fine carvers and could turn out statues almost as finished as those of the master. In his school we had the opportunity to observe the technique of wood-carving, which is considerably more refined and requires greater skill than the carvings in *parás* stone. Hard woods such as teak (*djatí*), jackfruit (*nangka*), and the compact *sawo*, a beautiful dark red wood, are invariably used and the sculptor must have a sure hand, trained by the experience of years, and a good knowledge of the art of cutting into the grain of the wood. He uses every conceivable form of knives, chisels, and gouges: round, straight, slanting, V-shaped, and so forth, some of which are intended for exceptionally deep carving. A complete set of tools consists of some thirty instruments and a wooden mallet. The carving technique consists in chipping bits of wood gradually with the highly sharpened instruments, not by hand pressure, as among us, but with light taps of the mallet, obtaining in this manner delicacy of touch and greater control over the material. If the statue is not to be painted or gilded, it is made smooth with pumice and given a high polish by rubbing it with bamboo.

Painting: Unlike the arts of the theatre, music, and sculpture, painting was little in evidence as a living art on our first visit to Bali. Outside of painting artifacts of daily use and scant decorations for temples, the Balinese made only paintings of two

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sorts: *ider-ider*, strips of hand-made cotton a foot wide by some fifteen or twenty feet long, hung at festivals under the roofs, all around the pavilions in houses and temples; and *langsé*, wide pieces of painted cloth used as hangings or curtains. There were often calendars (*pelelintangan*) used to establish the horoscopes of children, divided into squares with symbolical designs, one for each of the thirty-five days of the month. Often the paintings represented scenes of mythology, episodes and battles from the literary epics; but there were seldom scenes from daily life and never of contemporary subjects. The characters shown were invariably gods, devils, princes, and princesses with their retainers, dressed in the ancient costumes of Hindu-Javanese times. Their attitudes were stilted and the subjects standardized, but at times the restricted artist found an episode where he could give vent to his erotic sense of humour and he took good advantage of a love scene or a mishap to one of the retainers of the heroes. Erotic paintings were met with at times, scenes of fantastic attitudes in love-making, which they assured me would prevent the house where they were kept from burning!

Only the old paintings showed skill and taste; the modern ones sold at the lobby of the Bali Hotel were coarse, hastily made, and with a sad poverty of subject-matter. Painting was at a standstill, no longer in demand from the Balinese themselves and suffering from lack of freedom of expression. Only rarely did we find pictures with style, but the reason for this was the systematic and mechanical manner in which they were made; a master painter drew the main outlines and gave the final touches, leaving his children and apprentices to fill in the colours. Once in Gelgel, centre of painters of the conventional style, the two children of a painter had a heated argument because one had painted with blue the flesh parts of a figure and insisted he was right.

The following are among the invariable rules to be followed by painters of the conservative style: all available space must be covered by the design, even to the blank spaces between the

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532 intricate groups of figures, which are filled with an all-over pattern of clouds to indicate the atmosphere. When there are

[411]

Ardjuna

various episodes to a story, each is separated from the next by a conventional row of mountains or flames, with the heroes repeated in various attitudes.

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Battle scenes are crowded, bloody, and desperate, a tangle of arms, legs, and blood-spattered bodies, with all the space around

Bhima

filled with flying arrows and strange weapons. Faces are drawn in three-quarters, rarely full face, and never in profile. The characters are "refined" (*alus*) – gods, princes, and heroes –

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532 and "rough" (kasar) ones – devils, giants, retainers. Coarse characters have wild bulging eyes and fierce mouths full of 826 pointed teeth, their attitudes are violent, their colour dark, and 532 their bodies thick and hairy. The refined ones have long, thin arms and legs, delicate hands with curved fingers reminiscent of Indian frescoes, and their attitudes are studied and graceful. Their noses are fine and their mouths full and smiling, even in the midst of a fierce battle. They all wear elaborate clothes and jewellery of a type found only in ancient sculptures.

An important distinction is made between the eyes of men and those of women, which are always downcast – a straight line for the upper lid and a curved one for the lower lid – while the eyes of men are of the same shape but inverted, with the straight line for the lower lid, giving them a proud and inquisitive look:

Eyes, of Women, of Men, of Devils

532 Everything is restricted for the painter: his subjects, his types, his compositions, and even his colours: light ochre for the flesh [822] of refined characters and darker brown for evil ones; jewellery is yellow, costumes are either in red and blue or more rarely yellow and green. The Balinese painters use five colours: red (*barak*), [386] Chinese vermilion called *kentjú*; blue (*pelung*), vegetable indigo; yellow (*kuning*) made from a sort of clay called *atal*; mineral ochre (*kuning wadja*); black (*selem*), soot with vegetable juices; and white (*putíh*) from calcinated pig's bones. They can make green (*gadang*) by mixing *atal* and indigo, and brown (*tangí*) by mixing black and vermilion. These colours come in the form of stones which have to be laboriously ground together with the medium, a sort of fish-gelatine from China called *antjur*. Formerly paintings were made on hand-woven cotton cloth or on bark paper made by the Toradjas of Celebes, but today imported

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cloth or paper and even three-ply wood are used. The cloth is prepared with starch and glossed with a smooth shell. The preliminary outline is drawn in ochre with a bamboo style (*penelak*) or with a lead pencil, and the colours then applied with a home-made brush (*penuli*), a piece of sharpened bamboo, the fibres of which have been loosened by pounding with a stone. The picture is finished with steady black lines drawn with the bamboo pen, with a second outline in reddish brown inside the black one for all the parts that represent flesh or wood, and the whole glossed once more.

Highly specialized branches of the graphic art are the illustrations of palm-leaf manuscripts (*lontar*), and the making of leather puppets for shadow-plays (*wayang kulit*). In Singaradja there is a library of these manuscripts, the Kirtya Liefrinck van der Tuuk, where are preserved some splendid old *lontars* with illustrations (or copies of them) such as the famous *Dampati Lelangon*, taken from the palace of the Radjas of Lombok at the time of the war; the *Tetumbalans* of Kamenuh and Sawan, the *Bhima Swarga*, *Pari Bhasa*, *Adi Parwa*, and so forth. These are masterpieces of the art of illustration, with miniature pictures incised with an iron style on the blades of the *lontar* palm, the scratch filled in with a mixture of soot and oil. These manuscripts are in the form of books. The *lontar* leaves are cut evenly into strips an inch wide and from a few inches to two feet in length. They are preserved between two boards of some precious wood cut to the size of the leaves and bound together by a cord that passes through a hole in the centre of each leaf.

The shadow puppets, the *wayang kulit* (described later in greater detail), are fashioned from buffalo parchment, cut out with special iron dyes into the most delicate lace and painted. The style of the *wayang* is highly conventionalized although it is considerably more realistic than its ancestor, the Javanese *wayang*. It is curious that the art of painting pictures is not altogether dependent on the *wayang* forms, as it happens to be in Java, where the whole of the art consists in reproductions of

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532 [536] stylized *wayangs*; their outline is always in profile, while in Balinese paintings a face in profile is never found. However, the influence of these forms in the æsthetic education of children was patent when Jane Belo distributed paper and water-colours among the children of the small village of Sayan, to see what children without artistic training would do; the majority turned out pictures that were arrangements of elementary interpretations of *wayang* shapes.

178 532 Together with sculpture, painting underwent a liberating revolution after boys from around Ubud started to paint pictures in a "new" style. These were curious scenes from daily life on backgrounds of Balinese landscapes and village scenes, a mixture of realism and of the formal stylistic, with naïve figures of ordinary Balinese: a woman feeding chickens, men working in the fields, a cremation, and a dance performance, subjects that were never attempted before by Balinese painters.

This developed rapidly into a more mature, naturalistic style, producing a new crop of fine artists, each with a definite individual mark, such as I Sobrat, Madé Griya, and Gusti Nyoman from Ubud, Ida Bagus Anom from Mas, and the group of young painters from Batuan who draw fantastic forests and strange figures in half-tone against solid black backgrounds. These artists were encouraged by Spies and the Dutch painter Bonnet, who bought their pictures and provided them with materials; being careful, however, to keep undesirable influences from them, and helping them to sell their work in the museum of Den Pasar, a clearing-house where only pictures of high quality are exhibited.

[177] New materials increased the possibilities of the newly liberated art. The introduction of European paper, Chinese ink, hair brushes, and steel pens resulted in a new style of pictures in black and white, mosaics of delicate black lines with washes of various tones of greys and black, often touched with gold and red. But there are also formal paintings on wood or cloth done in the old Balinese pigments in which they attempted to give atmosphere

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and mood through colour: night scenes in beautifully harmonized colours that are decidedly a step forward from the limitations of the pure vermilion, blue, and ochre of the old-style paintings. Besides the scenes from daily life, the modern Balinese painters paint episodes of mythology in which the general conception has become freed from the old conventional rules. There are the same elegant gods, beautiful princesses, and other fantastic characters, painted among jungles in which every tree and plant is drawn with each leaf carefully outlined and shaded, jungles that have been wrongly compared with those of the douanier Rousseau, but which resemble more the drawing of Beardsley and Persian or Indian miniatures, none of which the Balinese artists have ever seen. Favourite subjects are from the Balinese Æsop's fables, the *tantri* stories, in which the artists find amusing incidents between animals living in the tapestry-like forests of fantastic leaves and flowers.

The birth of individualism rescued Balinese painting from its latent state and placed it on the same level as the emancipated sculpture — new arts that, considering the searching intensity and liveliness of the Balinese spirit, will perhaps develop unpredictable achievements.

The Crafts: Perhaps one of the most charming qualities of the Balinese mentality is the happy combination of the primitive simplicity in which they live, with a highly refined and rather decadent taste. The Balinese are a people who retain a close contact with the soil, living practically out of doors in simple thatched houses, using artifacts belonging to a primitive culture and going ordinarily almost nude; but they gather for festivals in elaborate buildings of carved stone and dress in silks and gold to enjoy themselves, worshipping the forces of nature by means of flowers, good food, music, dancing, and works of art that only the most highly developed technical skill can produce.

In sharp contrast with their super-elaborated sculpture, painting, and dramatic arts, are the purely functional objects of daily

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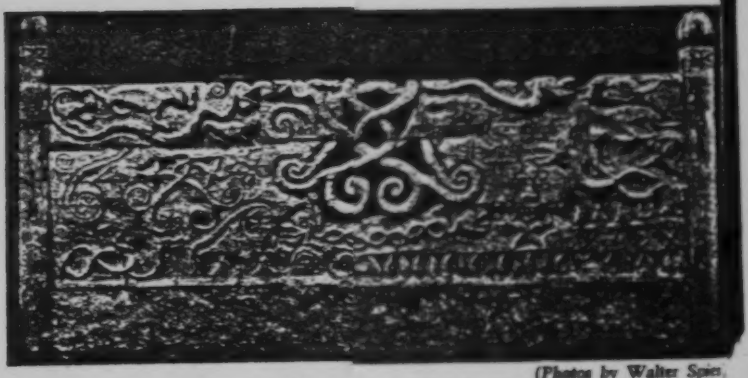

(Photos by Walter Spies)

ABOVE: Two Alarm Drums from Tambakan

BELOW: A Wood Relief from Selulung, strongly reminiscent of the carvings of Borneo and Nias

[p. 202 (A)]

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●532

Eleventh-century Hindu-Balinese Statue in the ruined temple atop the mountain Panulisan

[P. 202 (C)]

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●532

Fragment of an Ancient Statue in the ruins of Purah Gaduh, near Blahbatu

[p.202(D)]

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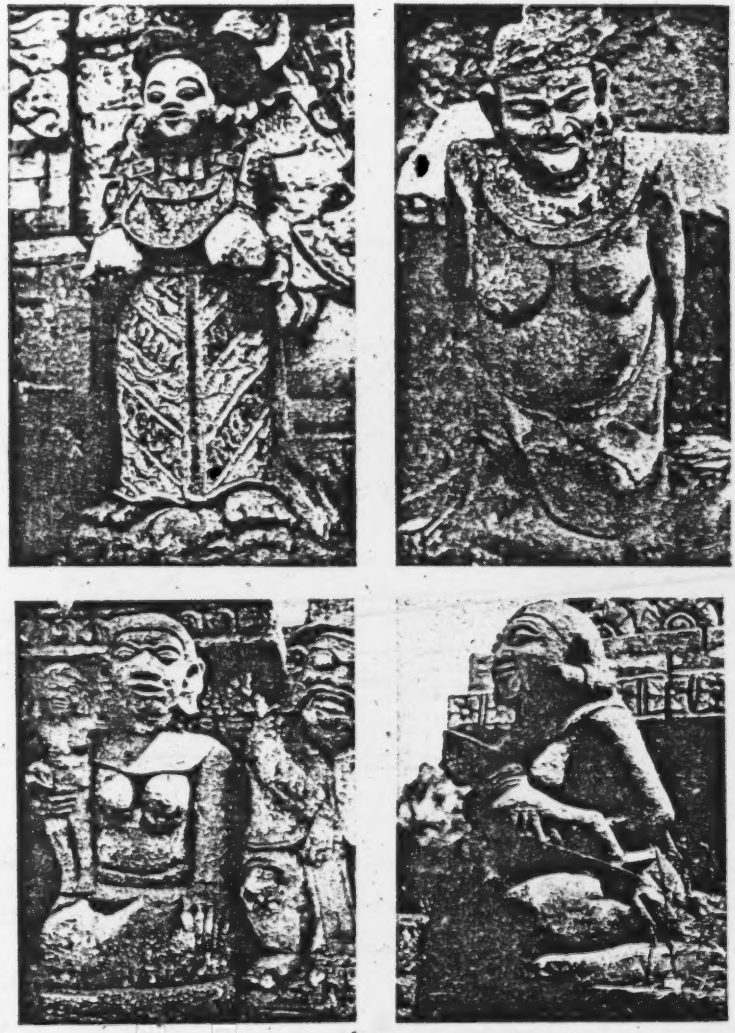

Contemporary Statues used as temple decorations

[P. 202(E)]

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Temple reliefs from North Bali

[P. 202 (F)]

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North Balinese Temple Reliefs – Hollanders drinking beer and cranking a motor-car

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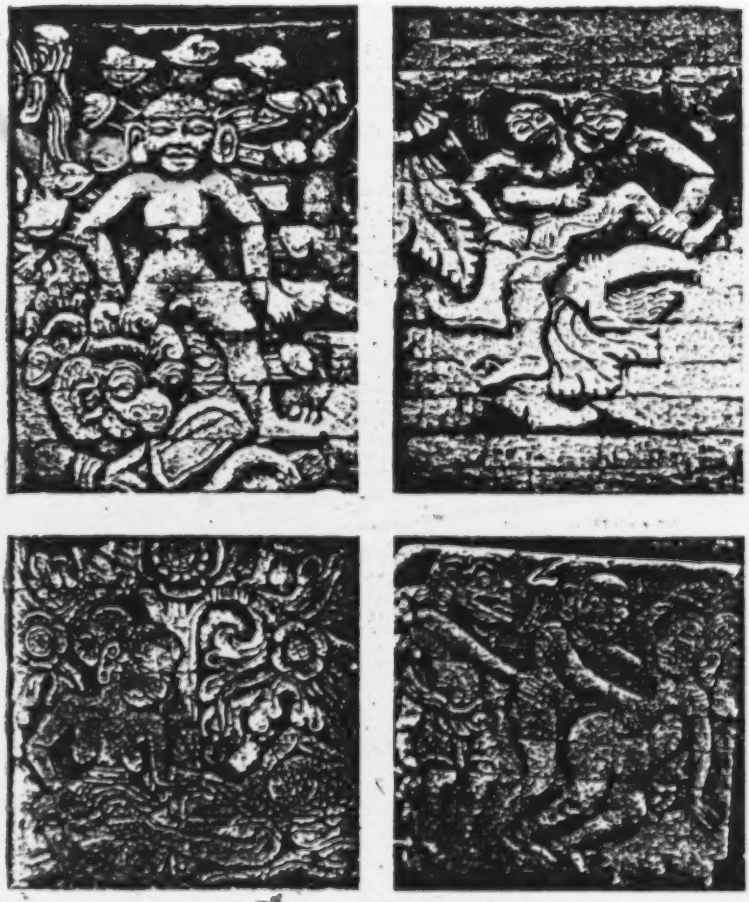

North Balinese Temple Reliefs

[p. 202 (H)]

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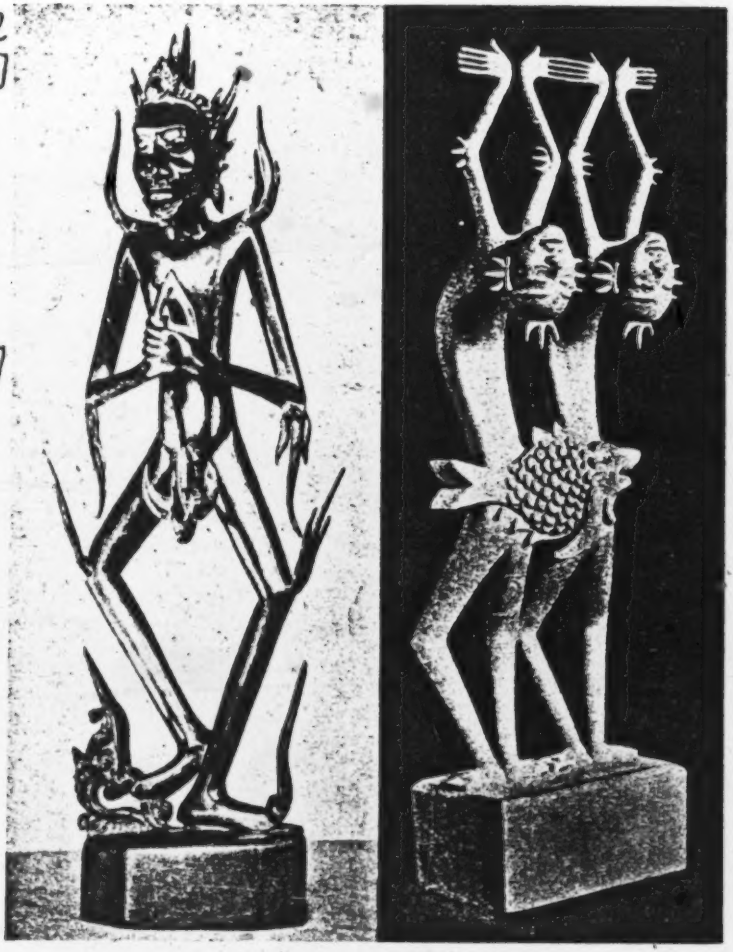

TWO MODERN WOOD-CARVINGS

LEFT: The Supreme Being, Tintiya, in an angry mood

RIGHT: An Amulet to keep thieves away

[P. 202 (I)]

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● 532.

ABOVE: "The princess bathes" — an illustration from the famous palm-leaf manuscript *Dampati Lelangon*

BELOW: Cockfight — an india-ink drawing on paper by a young Balinese artist

[p. 202 (J)]

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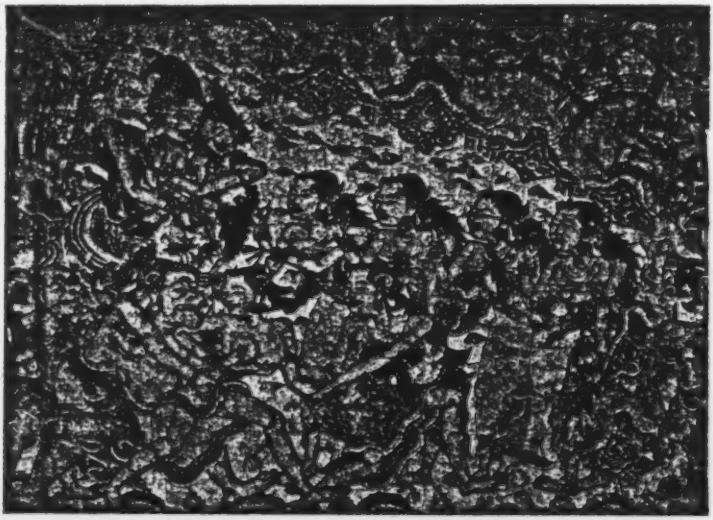

ABOVE: Fragment of an Old Painting in the traditional style

BELOW: A Modern Painting of the Tjalon Arang Play, by I Sobrat, a young artist of Ubud

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The Jungle—a black and white drawing by a young Balinese artist

[P. 202 (L)]

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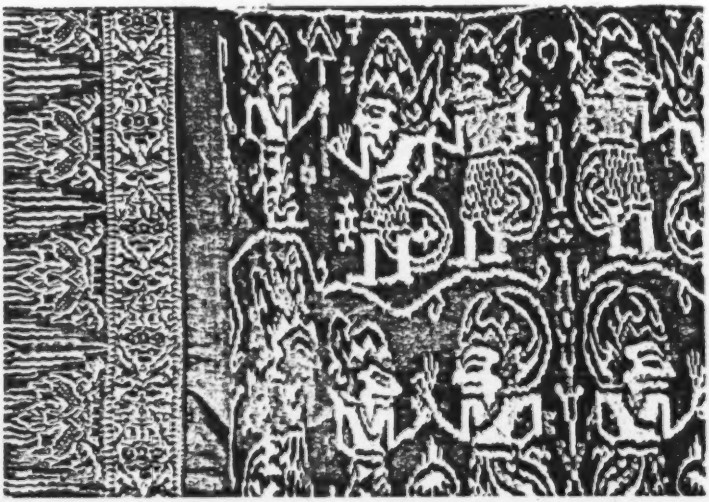

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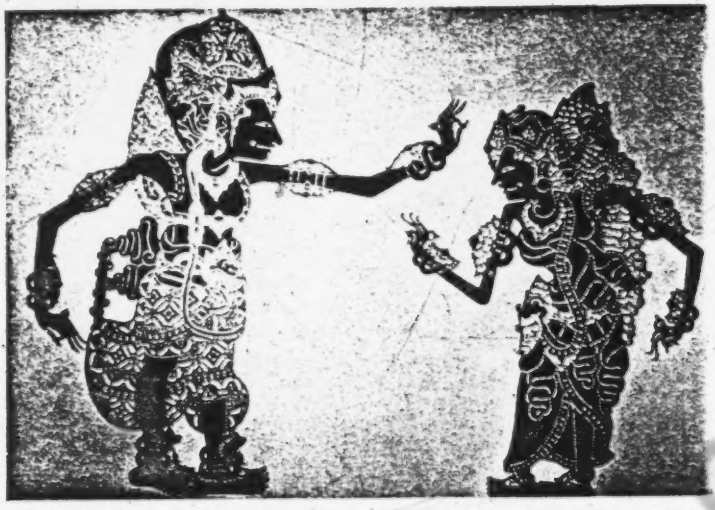

ABOVE: Detail of a Fine Silk and Gold Brocade from Klungkung. The wayang figures are woven into the fabric by the *ikat* process — the silk threads are dyed with the pattern before the cloth is woven

BELOW: Two *Wayang Kulit*, puppets of buffalo parchment, cut out with dyes and painted

[P. 202 (M)]

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536 a great army of monkeys in terrific battles in which "they dis-
773 charged so many arrows that they could not see each other any

[776]
[532]

Hanuman

more." Millions of monkeys and *raksasas* alike are slain before Rawana is killed and Sita rescued. The most picturesque hero of the war is the monkey-general, Hanuman, who performs

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536 His rival, the wild-eyed, stiff-mustachioed red monster Délam, with his little legs and enormous mouth, assisted by his Sangut, is a well-matched foe for Twalén. They fight constantly by magic means, by words, or by action in bawdy slapstick clowning; the puppets are banged together as the *dalang* improvises riotous dialogues, keeping the audience in hysterics. But in the end

[532]

Twalén always wins, the triumph of the magic of the "right" over the "left."

536 776 The fascinating *parekan* are the favourites of the people and it can be said that the whole show is a pretext for their mad fun-making. Twalén and Délam, and their Javanese equivalents, are unknown in the original Hindu epics; they are undoubtedly native characters, perhaps ancient deities degraded to the rank of retainers of the Hindu hero-gods, reshaped by the adapters of the stories into ridiculous, clumsy monsters of ill manners to establish their relation to the Hindu gods. Certain legends mention Twalén as having a divine origin. The Balinese say that he was a son of Tintiya, the Original God, and consequently a brother of Siva; but being given to worldly pleasures and liking

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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536 forbidden foods too well, he did not care to become one of the
776 nigh gods and preferred to remain a servant, so that he could eat and drink all he wanted. In exchange for his renunciation, he was given the power always to come out victorious over his enemies. Because of his exorcizing powers, Twalén can purify the country of evil. He probably represents the old Indonesian

[532]

magician who vanquishes evil monsters, and his role was adapted to assist the prince against the forces that stood in the way of his spiritual improvement. With its elaborate magic, religious significance, its undiminished popularity, and as the probable ancestor of the Balinese theatre, the *wayang* remains the most important form of Balinese entertainment.

THE CLASSIC DRAMA

KINGS AND WARRIORS

536 Conservative Balinese, fond of the classic literature in the fine old language, like to watch archaic dramas with long dialogues in Kawi and with a great deal of singing. There are vari-

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536 ous styles of classic plays, each with its own technique, and with special stories and costumes. For instance, episodes from the Ramayana are played only in *wayang wong* style (perhaps a development from the shadow-plays) in which masked actors in elaborate costumes enact the struggle between Rama and Ra-

[532]

Semar, as Twalén is Called in the Ancient *Wayang Gambúh*

wana, while the rowdy monkeys play tricks on each other and the clowns Twalén and Délam provide hilarious comedy. The [533] music of the *wayang wong* is, like that for the shadow-plays, mellow and delicate, played by the same *gendérs* augmented by drums and gongs to provide dramatic accents. The human *wayang* is not, however, as popular today as the shadow *wayang* and is rarely played.

545 The romantic and heroic adventures of Pandji, the native
536 Ardjuna, the dashing young prince of the *Malat* stories, are

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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after them, chasing them far into the road, and if he captures one, carries him back to the dancing-place and gives the money to his frightened victim. I asked repeatedly for the significance of this curious character, but I never received a satisfactory explanation. The *pengedjokan's* other names are Djero Dalam Pegék and Djero Dalam Truna (*truna*: bachelor), perhaps derived from some authentic character, a bachelor king of legend who liked children, but frightened them because of his appearance. To be a bachelor after middle age is considered abnormal in Bali. The mask is very holy, or rather has magic power, and no one would dream of selling it. In general a good set of *topéng* masks is a treasure, since only the bests sculptors can make them. Learned Balinese have a high regard for the *topéng* as an art.

THE BALINESE OPERA: THE ARDJA

A performance by a good *ardja* ensemble is a social event in the village. It is at *ardja* shows that young people meet and love affairs are started, helped by the romantic atmosphere of the love stories and the late hours. The performance never begins before midnight, and the villagers wait patiently, gossiping, flirting, listening to music, or munching peanuts until the actors have eaten their interminable dinner and are finally dressed.

The play begins with the appearance of the *tjondong*, the female attendant of the *putri*, the eternal princess. The part of the *tjondong* is usually played by a middle-aged, homely, male actor dressed as a girl, who walks in an effeminate way, singing praises to his mistress and begging her to come out. She is finally persuaded; the curtains of the little booth at the end of the dancing-space part and the much heralded beauty appears. In progressive *ardjas* she may be a young girl dressed in gold, with a great flower head-dress; but generally beautiful young girls cannot sing very well and in "good" *ardjas* the part is played by a male actor famous for his high falsetto. Slowly the two work their way across the stage, dancing and posturing, the

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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773 to civilize them by sending several of the gods to teach them the law of life, agriculture, and the arts and to provide them with the necessary tools.

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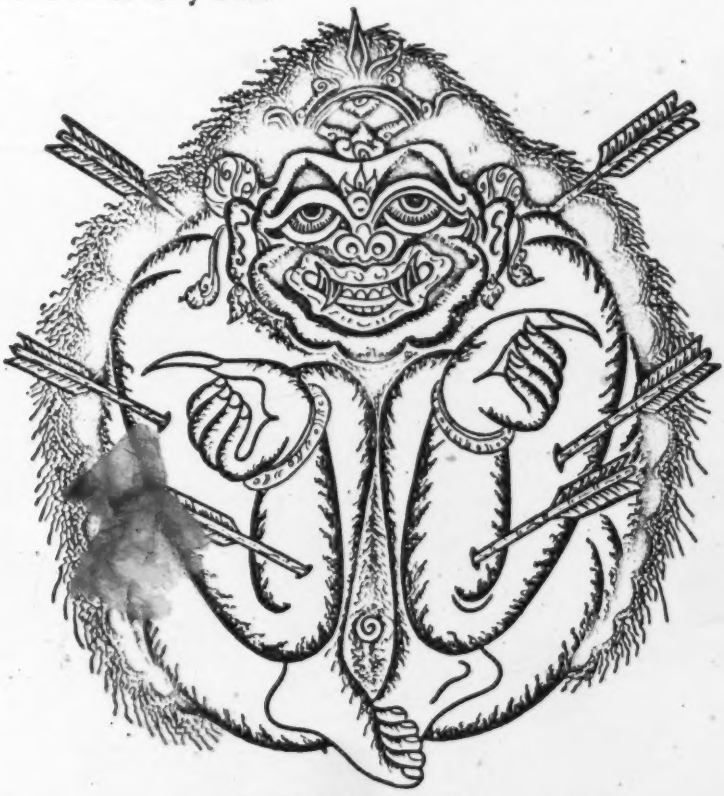

The Birth of Batara Kala

THE HIGH PRIESTS AND THE BRAHMANIC RITUAL

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793 The ultimate stage of perfection in the evolution of man on this earth, from the Balinese point of view, is to reach the Brahmana caste and to be ordained as a *pedanda*,[1] a high priest: from simple

[1] The word pedanda comes, according to Friederich, from *danda*, "a staff"—"staff-bearer," the law. The Balinese call high priests also *pandita* or *penita*, "the Learned."

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entas, in which only the holiest formulas are employed and which contains ingredients such as rice dyed yellow, powdered sandalwood, inscriptions (*pripih*) on thin plaques of gold, a ring set with a jewel, and even powdered rubies. 778

There is still another holy water of limited power that gives immortality, the *toya amreta* or *amerta*, which is, however, re-

[776]
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[821]

An Eclipse — Kala Rahu Swallowing the Moon

served exclusively for the gods. In relation to this elixir of immortality there is a legend that gives the cause of eclipses: "The demon Kala Rahu came once, out of curiosity, to take a peek at heaven; there he saw a vessel of *amreta* and, thinking himself unobserved, stole it and tried to drink from it. But Wisnu saw him and with a single blow cut off the demon's head. Kala Rahu had taken one drink in his mouth, but did not have time to swallow it, so his body died, but his head continued to live, and now, as revenge, he swallows the sun and the moon, producing the eclipses. Thus when an eclipse occurs, the Balinese are frightened and they all go out of their houses to make all 821 773

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346 same name; *Ulú Watú*, magnificently situated at the edge of a projecting cliff with a perpendicular drop into the sea of 250 feet, on the limestone tableland called Tafelhoek (Bukit Petjatu) (a great festival is held there 796 on the day *anggara-klion* of the week *madang siha*, twenty-one days after *galunggan*); the bathing-temple of *Tirta Empul* in Tampaksiring; *Pura Panataran Sasíh* in Pedjeng; *Pura Sakenan* in the island of Serangan; *Yeh Djeruk* in Gianyar; *Giralawa* in Klungkung; *Pakedukan* in Tabanan; *Samantiga* in Bedulu, and so forth.

776 2. *Artjas*. The concept that the spirits can be brought down to earth to
778 be embodied in a receptacle, a stylized human figure or a mask among
[794] the primitive animists such as the Africans and Oceanians, appears in
● [532] Bali in the *artja* cult. *Artjas* are generally statuettes of sandalwood, of gold, or of old coins sewn together, always male and female, and often represent Rama and Sita, the reincarnations of Wisnu and Sri.

Artjas of ancient Chinese cash, *kepeng*, with faces and hands of carved wood or gold are called *dewa rambut sadana* and are supposed to bring luck and riches to their owners. Our having acquired an old *rambut sadana* created considerable disturbance among our neighbours; when our servant first saw it, he asked us excitedly to sell it to him at twice the price paid for it. He told others in the house and they often came asking to see it. Someone even offered to make me a new one since "mine was already falling to pieces." We had to hide it, and it was some time before the matter was forgotten.

The statuettes fit into a base carved like an animal, the "mount" or vehicle of the deities when taken out in procession. Most often these bases are shaped like bulls, deer, or mythical animals, *nagas* or *singhas*, but often the mount is a composite animal, as for instance half-bull, half-fish, in all probability the ancient totems of the families who own the *artjas*. There is still a trace of totemism in Bali; people of the *ngatewel* caste claim descent from a jackfruit tree, and my friend Gusti Oka told me members of his family may not eat singing doves.

That the *artjas*, when imbued with the spirit of the deity, become highly temperamental was shown at the temple feast of *Taman Badung*, the death temple of Den Pasar, when about forty of the town's *artjas* were taken out in procession. Absent was the feminine deity from the Civil temple, who "refused to join in the procession because she was not on good terms with her husband, the *artja* of *Taman Badung*."

782 3. *Offerings*. The ever present offerings (*pabantén*) made to the gods and evil spirits should not be taken literally as factual food for them, but

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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rather as a tax, a traditional habit of the people to give back something of what rightfully belongs to the spirits; from the simplest, the little squares of banana leaf with a few grains of rice (*ngedjot, tjanan*) made daily to

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[532]
[212]
[776]

Ratna Menggali
(from a Balinese Manuscript)

the house or left in passing a magically charged spot; the more complete portions of food (*kawisan, pangulapan, prasadjengan, sorohan*); to the great pyramids of fruit, flowers, and roast chickens (*kboogan, padjegan*), the intricate constructions of cut-out palm-leaf (*sampian, djerimpan, sesayut*), and the great monuments of cooked pig's meat (*saté gedeh*)

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to tell of personal encounters with *leyaks* in various forms, and from my friends I often heard stories such as these:

"Walking on a lonely road at night, a man from Sayan was confronted with a monkey that seemed intent on blocking his

Leyak (from a Balinese Manuscript)

path. He moved to the right of the road, but the monkey stood in front of him and leaped to the left when he tried to pass on the left side. In sheer desperation he grabbed the monkey's tail, but the animal disappeared, leaving the panic-stricken man with the tail in his hands. He dropped it and ran for his life; the fol-

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hair, which reached to her feet, allowing only the bulging eyes and twisted fangs of her mask to be seen. Her tongue hung out, a strip of leather two feet long, painted red and ending in flames

Rangda (*from a Balinese Manuscript*)

of gold. A row of flames came from the top of her head. She wore white gloves with immense claws and in her right hand she held the white cloth with which she hid her horrible face to approach her unsuspecting victims. This cloth became a deadly weapon if it struck.

The character of Rangda has its origin in historical facts, now

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Rangda, Queen of Witches

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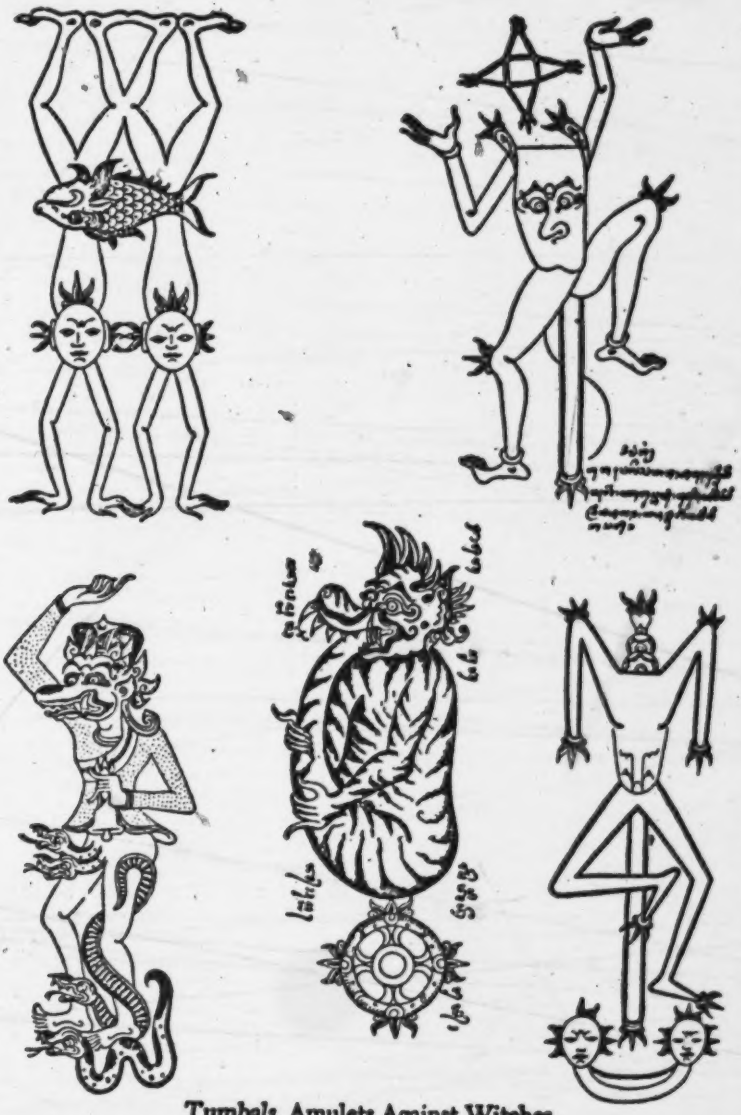

Tumbals, Amulets Against Witches

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Tumbal

(*Ne manusa luwih pengurúh merta sandi mantra, ngidjing sai, ring awakú petang lemah, ala-ayú, ané nunggú akú apangeda matí ngipi, mati ngawag-ngawag, tan kuwasa molah.*) 755 788 789

". . . ONG! the Original Word, whose brilliance is like the air that fills the sky, a spell is on my house, a great forest surrounded by tigers. A thousand witches bow down to me meekly and fearfully [because] the amulet given to my enemies by the gods is worn out and spoiled. . . ." 539

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764 porting three gradually receding platforms – the mountains,
772 with bunches of paper flowers and leaves on the corner of each platform to represent the forests. Then comes an open space, the *balé balean*, " rather like a house," the space between heaven and earth. This consists of four posts backed with a board on one side, and with a protruding platform to which the bodies

[532]

764 are fastened. The *balé balean* is topped by a series of receding
[564] roofs like a pagoda to represent the heavens. These are always in odd numbers which vary according to the caste of the family: one for Sudras, from three to eleven for the aristocracy, and none for the Brahmanic priests. The back of the tower is nearly cov-
[776] ered with a gigantic head of Bhoma, the Son of the Earth, a wild-eyed, fanged monster with enormous outstretched wings that spread some ten feet on each side of the tower. This mask and the wings are covered with bright-coloured cotton-wool. As many as seventy-five men are often required to carry the great tower and its complementary bridge, a tall bamboo runway by which the upper stages of the tower are reached. (See Note B, page 386.)

564 Strict caste rules also dictate the shape of the *patulangan*, the
764

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sarcophagi: Sudras are entitled only to burn their dead in open cases shaped like a *gadjamina*, a fantastic animal, half elephant, half fish. Today the majority of the nobility use the bull for men and the cow for women, animals supposedly once reserved for Brahmanas; Satrias were entitled only to a *singha*, a winged lion; and Wesias used the deer. Towers and coffins are not made by ordinary villagers but by artist specialists who are directed by a master craftsman. The cows are splendidly carved out of wood, the hollow body hewn out of a tree-trunk, the back of which opens like a lid. The whole animal is covered with coloured felt or velvet, lavishly ornamented with goldleaf, cotton-wool, and silk scarfs. Caste again decides whether the animal should be black, white, spotted, yellow, orange, or purple. With true Balinese playfulness, their sexual organs are clearly defined and those of bulls often are made so that they can be put into action by means of a hidden string.

From dawn of the day of the cremation the house teems with excited people attending to the last details; the hosts wait on the notable guests, the women see to the offerings, hordes of half-naked men proceed to uncover the towers and the sarcophagi and bring them to the front of the house gate. Delegations are sent to the cremation grounds to put the final touches on the bamboo altars and on the platforms of tightly packed earth, roofed with coloured paper and tinsel, where the corpses will be cremated.

When everything is ready and the guests have been served with their final banquet, the village *kulkul* is beaten to start the march to the cremation grounds; the way to the tower is cleared of evil influences by sprinklings of holy water, and a great fire is often made to prevent rain during the day. Eventually the corpses are taken out, not through the gate, but over a bridge or through a hole knocked out somewhere in the house walls. The groups of men in loincloths that carry the bodies are greeted with fireworks, and handfuls of *kepengs* are scattered, as a traditional custom and not because the people actually believe the evil spirits to be interested in pennies.

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Patulangan, Sarcophagi used for Cremating Corpses of the Nobility, and made of hollowed-out tree trunks, covered with felt, velvet, silks, and tinsel

[P. 374 (A)]

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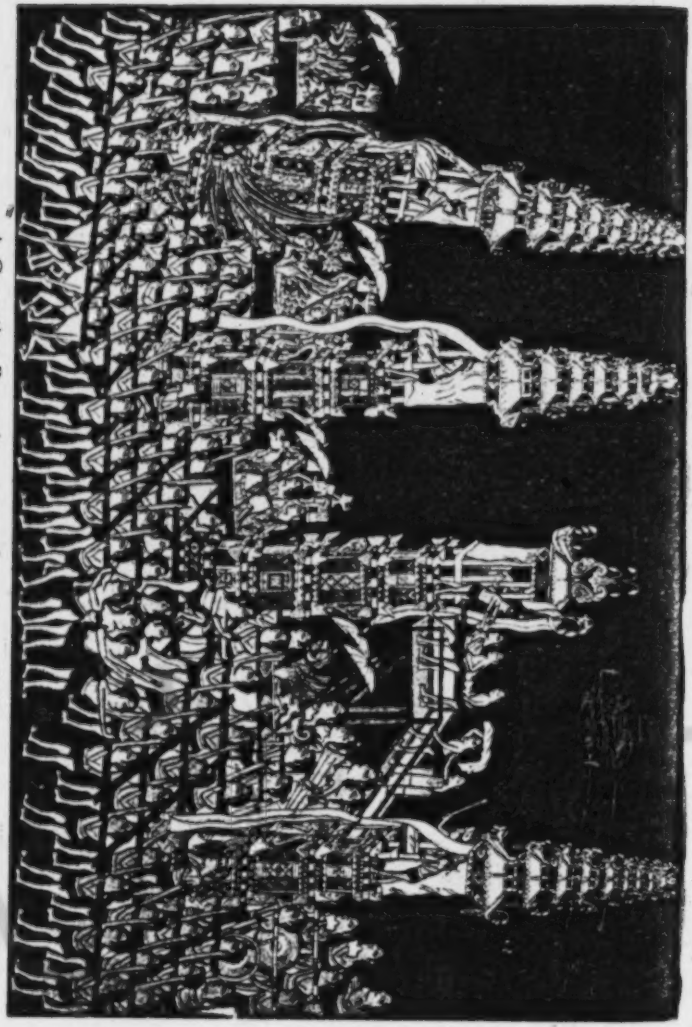

A Cremation Procession, as seen by a young Balinese artist

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musicians, and even squirrel-chasers, to the great agricultural, fishing, village, and ward associations that control the internal government of the communities. Every one of their activities is managed, not individually, but communally, with every active member having a vote and a voice in every enterprise. Naturally, individualism did not develop in the strict communalistic society; individual names are hardly ever used and they call one another "brother," "father," "teacher," or "grandfather." All art is anonymous and only recently have painters begun to sign their works, owing entirely to the influence of Europeans. This, however, did not kill individuality of expression; it is easy to detect the authorship of a certain painting or a sculpture if one is familiar with the author's work, every notable actor or dancer has his own unmistakable way of performing standard dances or improvising lines for a play, and no two orchestras play alike.

In the larger towns and in the districts where the princes held sway, landownership became more individualistic, but elsewhere the right of landed property is not recognized as absolute and an undesirable member of the community cannot hold property given to him or to his ancestors against the will of the village council. A landowner cannot sell his property within the jurisdiction of the village without authorization from the council and it can be confiscated if he misuses it or if he abuses his privileges.

Instead of the familiar exploitation, enslavement, and economic inequality imposed on the population by a ruling class of aristocrats or bureaucrats so often found in countries where the government is centralized in individuals, in Bali we find an economically independent majority that is truly democratic because every representative villager, regardless of his caste or his wealth, is an active member of the village council with an equal voice in village affairs and with equal duties to perform. The government of the villages remained impersonal and with a minimum evidence of even its existence, because power was equally divided among the members of the various councils, and the executive officials, such as *kliangs*, council heads, treasurers, and so forth,

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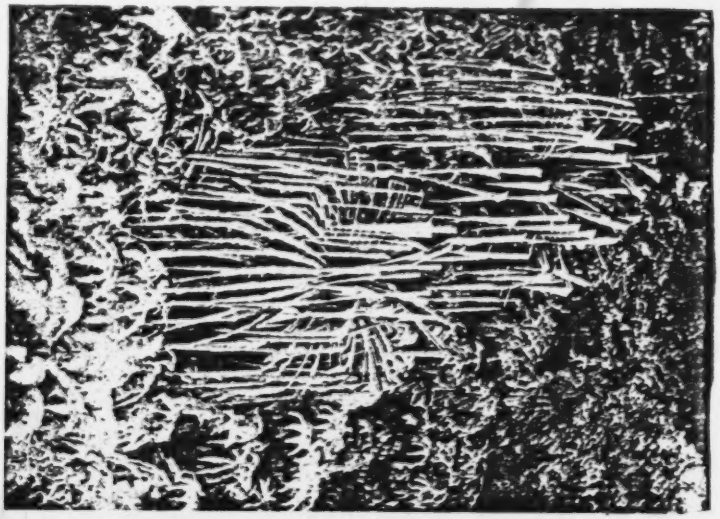

Giant pandanus in the forest of Batukau

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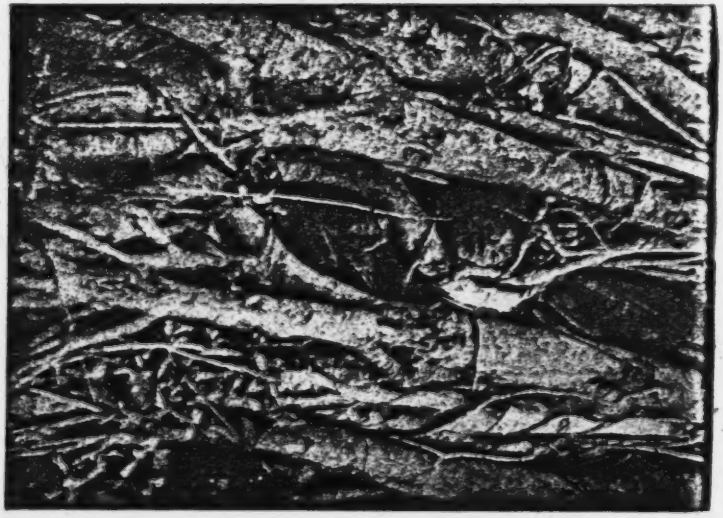

A statue trapped in the roots of a waringin tree

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A *kulkul* or tom-tom calls the villagers together; it has different signals for meals, feasts, meetings. A fast, continuous beating is the signal of a village emergency

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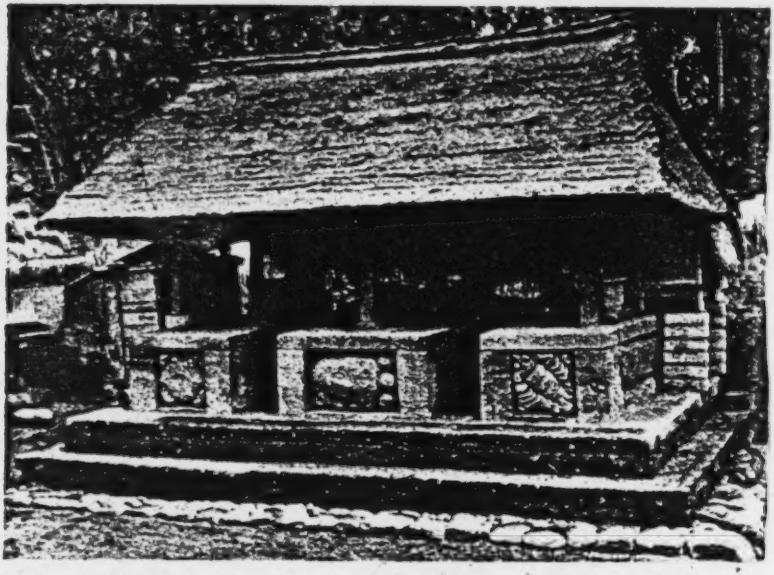

Every Balinese home, which houses one family or a number of related families in its many pavilions, is surrounded by a wall of whitewashed mud

Not all Balinese kitchens are as elaborate as this, with its carved stone ornaments of crabs, turtles, shrimps

[p. 406 (~~xxx~~)]

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ABOVE: A panorama of *merus* which make up the Mother Temple (Besakih) of Bali

BELOW: Giant puppets for the holy barong *landong*: a wild giant and a prince

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Two actors in the *djauk*, a pantomimic dance that precedes the barong play. In their masks and dance routine there is a sharp distinction between the uncouth and the refined characters

BELOW: Dancers of baris gedé, a ritual war dance, dressed in magic black and white cloth

[P. 406 (LIII)]

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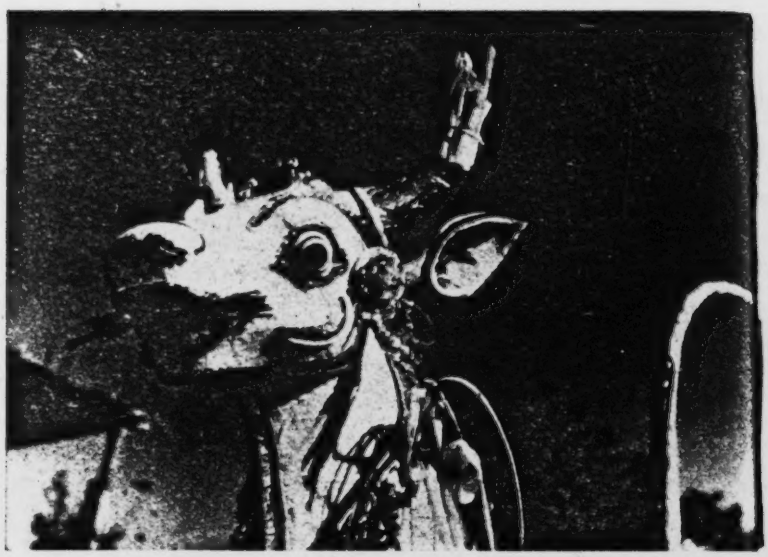

Sarcophagi used for cremating corpses of the nobility, made of hollowed-out tree-trunks in the shape of cows. They are covered with felt or velvet, richly polychromed and decorated in gold

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A mukur tower of white and gold built a month and seven days after the cremation for the ceremony that consecrates the souls of the dead as family gods. On a tall bamboo pole are the bird and the lamp that guide the soul on its way

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the performance the glamor of his special gifts. The shadow-play is also often given as a part of the festivities, and a famous *dalang* who can hold his audience all through the night is much sought after, and considered to add both amusement and religious dignity to the proceedings. He should be a man who can recite from the ancient literature, episodes from the Hindu *Ramayana* or *Maha-bharata*, or the Javanese poem, *Ardjoena Wiwaha* and who at the same time can intersperse salty comment on local events (in the mouths of the humorous characters Delem, Sangoet, the Tjondong, and so on) making the course of the old language narrative more intelligible to the popular audience. These various forms of entertainment offered to the gods make up an important part of the festival, and all are prepared with a great amount of enthusiastic creative activity and put on for a merely nominal remuneration.

All these types of activity, the making of the offerings, the setting up of the decorations, and the preparation of the music, dance, and dramatic offerings, make clear what the people mean when they leave off their everyday tasks and flock to the temple saying "*Wenten karja di poera*" (There is work in the temple). Their contributions in money and in kind are small in relation to the expenditure of effort which they gladly make on these occasions. If the pattern of the many times repeated sets of offerings has something of the compulsive about it, this aspect of the services is to a great extent overlaid and offset by the gaiety of their participation, as players and as audience, in the three day celebration. And although it is considered fitting and proper to have at the festival as many and as brilliant performances as can be mustered, there is nothing in the religious prescriptions to make this part of the festival compulsory, and the effort which is expended by the people is in this regard quite voluntary.

In many temples the gods are represented by little figurines of gold, or bronze, or gilded wood,[5] by plain boards on which a face has been carved in primitive style, or by a simple figure woven of palm. Often there are little extra faces of wood, painted as are the masks, which are attached to the figure representing the god for the time that the god is supposed to be present. The figures themselves have no power. They are merely the receptacles, the "sitting-places" (*pelinggihan*) of the higher presence. On days other than those of the festival, the figures are put away in the little houses which belong to the gods, the tiny doors closed upon them. No one gives them a thought until the festival day comes around.

The temple festival is first a communal feast. As a calendric event, it repeats the pattern found in the very old style villages, the old Indo-

[5] Such a sacred figurine may be called an *artja*. Likewise some other object, non-representative in aspect, a stone or bit of bronze, may be kept in the temple shrine, and to such objects also the name *artja* is given.

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PLATE II

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(a) Women make offerings of flowers and palm-leaf

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(b) Men prepare the meat offerings: a pig for roasting

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(c) Offerings of cakes in an endless variety of designs

[opp. p. 17]

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later, he was unable to walk the few hundred yards to be present in the temple of which he is nominally the priest. [796] [793]

His wife is still a vigorous old woman, though she is the mother of seven children, the grandmother of thirty, and the great-grandmother of four. She has never learned, as do many of the *pemangkoes'* wives, to carry out the ritual herself. She does not know the *mantras*, the prayer formulae (although she has had the ordaining ceremony, *mewinten*). And so, on account of the old man's enfeeblement, the *pemangkoe* of the *Poera Désa* was called in to assist at this *odalan*. The entire course of the ritual the old priest left in the younger priest's hands, with the exception of the very intimate ceremony of "bringing down the gods" (*nedoenang betara*), asking them to enter, for the time, the little wooden supports (*tapakan*) provided for them. This part of the ritual the old man insisted on carrying out himself, and watching him, I had the feeling that he would not have liked another than himself to bring down into his temple the gods of the *Poera Nagasari*. [888]

The *tapakan* here are two flat boards, roughly carved into the semblance of a human image, an elongated triangle forming the body, topped by another triangle representing the head, on which the primitive drawing of a face is cut. The boards stand upright, inserted into a long heavy block of wood for a base. Wires project from the horizontal top of the "head" triangle, to be used as holders for the flowers of the head-dress. All during the days of the preparations for the feast these two images have stood on the central shrine (*Pepelik*), neglected and unclothed, adorned only with a little twist of dried-up palm-leaf (*sap-sap*) tied around each "waist," representing a sheath of betel which was presented to them at the last feast. [718] [532]

But on the morning of the *odalan* the *pemangkoe's* wife took them down, and carrying them to the *Pengaroeman* (Dressing-Up Shrine), dressed them with great care in a complete set of diminutive clothing — the figures are about eighteen inches high. They are wrapped first in a *kamben*, a skirt, then an upper scarf, a *tjerik*, and lastly a gold-leafed panel, a *kamak* such as dancers wear, was bound from their breasts with a brightly colored sash, *saboek*. On their heads she fixed fresh flowers to form a crown. Beside all this finery of yellow and magenta and gold, the round circles of eyes of the crudely drawn face peered out surprisingly. Alongside them were placed the *pebersihan*, the *rantasan*, and *tjanang rèbong*. This, however, was still only preparation, for the gods had not yet come down to enter their forms. As a final attention, the old priest himself counted out two strings of 25 old Chinese cash, and tied one of them around the waist of each figure, under their clothes, together with a fresh sheath of betel (*tampel base*). They should not lack for spending money (*bekel*), nor for a refreshing quid of betel. These are the provisions customarily given to anyone departing on a journey. [978] [182]

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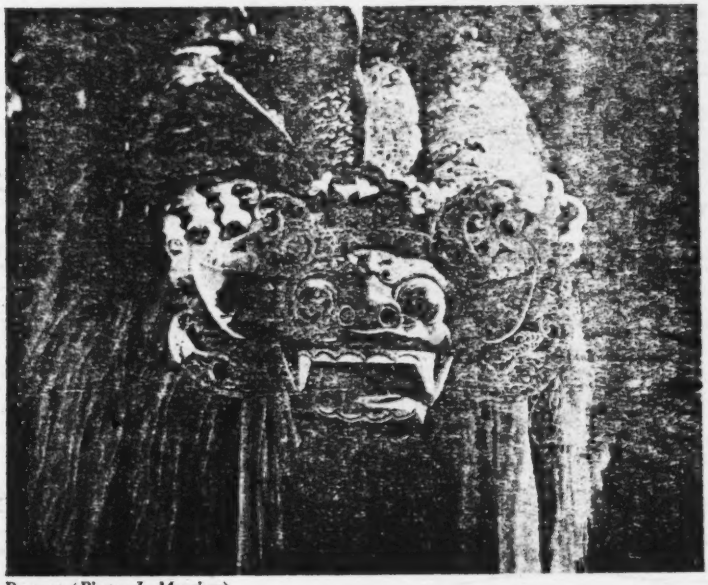
Rangda



Barong (*Photos J. Mershon*)

Frontispiece
[facing p. iii]

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Bateson puts it, the *Barong* clears space.[1] He is thought of as King of the Demons, and he alone can keep them under control.

Witchlike spirits (*léjak*), on the other hand, are under the power of the Queen of the Witches, *Rangda*, another sacred mask, which is played by one man. In the temples this mask is often set up on or near a shrine, is given offerings, and if someone goes into trance may be put on and danced as a godly impersonation of this Evil Female. Late at night she will call her "followers," the *léjaks*, who come at her bidding to perform all sorts of horrors, dig up corpses, eat babies, bring pestilence and famine to the village. Only by propitiating her—and perhaps the enacting of the part serves as an acknowledgement of her power—can these evil and more earthly powers be held in check.

The Balinese dramatize these two aggressive and destructive forces, that of the rough, greedy, quarrelsome demons and that of the uncanny, devouring, deathly *léjaks*, by the mask play in which the *Barong* and *Rangda* appear as antagonists. The battle is enacted and reenacted. No one ever wins. What happens is that dozens of villagers, aroused by the excitement held incarnate in these two figures and by the stylized interplay between them, go into trance, go through patterned behavior in a somnambulistic state, attack the Witch with their krisses, are revived by the *Barong*, attack their own chests with their krisses, and preferably work themselves to a climax, a true convulsive seizure of hysterical order. After such a performance everyone goes home feeling perfectly great and at peace with the world.

There can be no doubt that certain tensions and anxieties set up in the Balinese by the restraints, the fears, and the general inhibitory patterning of their emotional life are relieved by these outbursts.[2] Bateson and Mead in their analysis of Balinese character go a step further, relating the specific trance performances described here to early child training, seeing in the *Barong* a father image, in the *Rangda* the image of the teasing, unsatisfying mother, and in the convulsive seizure a repetition of infantile tantrums. Their theory is open to challenge if it is seen as offering the key to the whole of Balinese character structure. In any case, we can bear it in mind for it is certainly thought provoking, though not likely to be understood by those without some training in psychoanalytic theory as well as in cultural anthropology.

Age Grading. The division into age grades is not that frequently found in primitive societies but tends to be rather as follows.

[1] Bateson and Mead, 1942, p. 188.
[2] Belo, 1935, pp. 143-144.

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heritage of Hinduism, whether it came to him directly or as a part of Hindu Javanese tradition, belongs to a sort of fairy tale level of his fantasy, and within the very active creative life of the people, these historical legendary figures continually reappear in the dramas, paintings, and decorative arts.

It will be seen by referring to the above table that the year 900 is the approximate date given to the so called Lara Djonggrang temple group at Prambanan and that it was in the century immediately following this that the first close contact between Java and Bali was established. Now it is no accident that a figure of Durga from Prambanan, now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, was used as a frontispiece in Keith's volume on Indian mythology in the series, *The Mythology of All Races* (see Pl. XI, *b*). This outstandingly beautiful piece, chosen to head the volume and to illustrate the attributes of the Hinduistic deity, is entitled as follows:

> Durga. The wife of Siva, in her dread aspect, slays the Asura Mahisa. Standing in an attitude of triumph on the demon, who, as his name implies, is in the shape of a buffalo, she drags his soul (symbolized in human form) from him. From a Javanese lava sculpture, probably from Prambanan, in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.[a]

Durga is here a graceful figure executed with great artistry and technical skill. The posture is rhythmically composed. One hip sways out, the torso swinging to the opposite side; one knee is gently flexed. The breasts are rounded, perfect. One is even able to accept her having six arms, two of them raised above her head, holding weapons, while in another hand she appears to hold the demon by the hair. Her face is impassive and mild, neither threatening nor smiling, though from the reproduction it seems that the mouth is partly open and the teeth visible. In stylization this piece is representative of the best period of Hindu Javanese carving. As a work of art, it is a quite satisfying rendering of "The Inaccessible."

It is always somewhat difficult for those of us brought up in the religious tradition of the gentle Christ to understand why it was that in Hinduism, the fierce and terrible aspect of the wife of Siva was played up rather than her softer side. Keith gives us an inkling of what Durga may have meant at that time when he explains her various names in the chapter of the work mentioned above entitled "The Great Gods of the Epic." He says

> Closely akin to Siva is his wife Uma, the younger daughter of Himavant, whose gift of her to Rudra cost him the loss of all his jewels through a curse of Bhrgu, the sage of the gods, who came too late to seek her in marriage. As "Daughter of the Mountain" she is also Parvati, and Gauri ("the Radiant White One"), and Durga ("the Inaccessible"). The fancy of the poet, how-

[a] Keith, 1917, frontispiece.

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the favorite sacrificial animal for offering to Durga and that he, a Moslem, was following an old Hindu rite practiced by his ancestors.[6]

This sort of folk perpetuation of a tradition has been shown to be carried through in Bali, and it must always be taken into account as a possibility in tracing cultural elements through time. Dr. W. F. Stutterheim identified in Bali a number of mortuary statues of kings, carved in the images of gods, which had been removed from the site of the mortuary temple and set up in village temples. He assumes that the original terraces (similar to the Indian *mandapas*) and the figures were, after the fall of the dynasty, either demolished or abandoned. But the figures, "still regarded as holy, and feared by the population on account of their magic power were installed in temples where they could be cared for and supplied with offerings."

> Thus I found the figures in places to which they did not properly belong (Stutterheim says)—namely, in temples (*puras* for *poesat*), where the Balinese do not exactly know what to make of them now. To the people these figures are merely magically dangerous stones (fallen down from the sky, according to popular belief), of which one is afraid and so they must be cared for; their destruction might lead to some calamity. As for their original significance, it is completely forgotten.[7]

every year since that time to the holy spring of Tirta Mpul to be given a bath, and then back again to the village where it was enshrined. The day for the performance of this ceremonial bath was calendrically fixed, full moon of the fourth month. On deciphering the inscription, Stutterheim found that it was the charter of the foundation of the holy spring Tirta Mpul, on the day of full moon of the fourth month of the year 962. Though Dr. Stutterheim, with the true archeologist's enthusiasm, did not forbear to

Stutterheim supports his point by alluding to an inscription dating from 962 A.D. which he was able to decipher, though the stone had been carried tell the people who venerate this stone and keep it holy the facts of its origin —he remarks that "the communication of my findings was received in the place with no little interest"[8]—one would be inclined to guess that the people still keep it wrapped in its white cloth and provide it with offerings and take it every year for the ceremonial bath and retain only the vaguest memory of the tale told by a Tuan of an alternative origin for the very *sakti* stone.

It should be stated here in no uncertain terms that running through the literature of the 1920's and 1930's dealing with ethnographic data in the Indies, whether this literature is Dutch, English, German, or vari-European, the concept of the "magically powerful," "magically dangerous," "magically

[6] Vlekke, 1943, p. 27.
[7] Stutterheim, 1935, p. 28.
[8] *Ibid*, p. 29.

[These lines should be inserted at the beginning of the paragraph as indicated by arrow.--dwelst]

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weak" occurs with great frequency and alarmingly little critical evaluation. This set of ideas became current among Europeans writing about the area and was passed on from one to another, snowballing in apparent force but in effect becoming more and more distant from the indigenous thinking to which the ideas were referred. Except where the authors give a specific reference to the native term employed, all mention of "magic" forces, power, balance, and so on should be viewed with suspicion, and judgment held in reserve for the presentation of further evidence.

With this reservation, then, we may concede that the quality attributed by the Balinese to such objects as the ancient stone images and inscriptions, rendered by Stutterheim as "magic power," is in the Balinese language called *sakti*—a term reminiscent of the Polynesian *mana*, in that it connotes supernatural strength. *Sakti* is of course a Sanskrit term, translated by Dowson as "The wife or the female energy of a deity, but especially of Siva."[11] *Sakti* in Bali means holy, sacred—dangerous, too, if not properly handled—but it has lost, at least on the overt level, the connotation of femaleness belonging to the Sanskrit term. How much of it remains at a deeper level, contributing to the character and the personification of Rangda, we may later on be in a better position to judge.

Returning to actual representations of Durga dating from historic times, we find three stone carvings of her in the same aspect as the one from the Javanese Prambanan reproduced by Keith. Two of these are attributed by Stutterheim to the Old Balinese period, tenth to thirteenth centuries, and a third to the Middle Balinese period, of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.[12] The first of these, Figure 27 of his *Oudheden van Bali*, is entitled *Durga Mahisasuramardini* and was found in the temple, Poera Kedarman, at Koetri (see Pl. XII, *a*.). The figure is elongated, swaying as in a dance, the left leg extended to an unusual length and in unusual tension, the torso bent from the pelvis towards the same side, the left; head and torso form a continuous, quite rigid line at an angle to the line of the extended leg. The body is definitely articulated at the hip, its weight supported by the right leg, which is, presumably, slightly flexed, though the stone is here rather badly damaged. Of the face, nothing can be made out. The multiple arms bear the various weapons, and the figure is clearly seen to be standing upon the demon buffalo (bull?). The whole figure gives an impression of tensile strength and has a distinctly original character. The style does not appear to be directly influenced by that of the early tenth century Hindu Javanese at Prambanan, and if it were not for the content, one would have

[11] Dowson, 1928, "Sakti."
[12] Stutterheim, 1930.

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difficulty in tracing any connection. Yet this figure, Stutterheim suggests, may have been set up as a mortuary image of Erlangga's mother, the Javanese princess Gunapriyadharmapatni, called Mahendradatta in Bali.

In strong contrast, stylistically, is the second figure of Durga Mahisasuramardini, from the temple, Poera Poeseh, in the same village, Koetri (Figure 28) (see Pl. XII, *b*). Here the figure is much closer to the Prambanan style, but squatter, stiffer, less skillfully executed on the whole, though it is not lacking in sculptural artistry and has a certain compositional grace. The proportions of this figure are, of the head to the body, almost one to four, while the preceding figure has proportions of more nearly one to eight. The stance is wide, the right leg flexed and the left apparently raised, though both legs are broken and the outline is blurred. So is the buffalo on which she stands almost obliterated. But once more we see the bland face, the slightly open mouth of the Prambanan version.

Turning now to the third image, the Durga Mahisasuramardini of the Middle Balinese period shown in Figure 47 (see Pl. XII, *c*) of Stutterheim's *Oudheden*, we see a figure much more rigid, straight up and down, kinesthetically static by comparison with its predecessors. Here again she stands on the buffalo, her left foot on his head, her right knee flexed, but from the pelvis upward the body is absolutely vertical, without mobility, as are also the eight arms. The face is less bland; the mouth is stretched, and what appear to be large canines—predecessors of Rangda's tusks?—are showing. This figure was found in the temple Poera Pedjaksaan, in the village of Bedoeloe, only a few kilometers away from the village which harbors the other two Durga images.

Finally, Stutterheim offers in Figures 69, 70, 71, and 72 the four sides of a small stone *tjandi* found in the temple, Poera Desa Pedapdapan, in another nearby village, Pedjeng. The whole *tjandi*, or temple, is only fifty-eight centimeters high, and the figures of Siva as Mahadeva, Ganesa, Durga, and a Rshi (guru) which adorn the four sides, only fourteen centimeters high, so that not much can be told about the attitudes depicted from the reproductions. We must beware of letting our interest in Durga carry us to the view that her presence in Bali as a godly manifestation is of more importance than it is in actual fact. Stutterheim did not select any Durga image to reproduce in his volume in English, *Indian Influences in Old Balinese Art*, though he republished twenty-three of the hundred and twenty-eight plates from *Oudheden van Bali*. He does give us in the English volume the following statement.

> . . . I found a number of miniature *chandis* (*tjandi*), carved of one piece of stone. These, too, were solid, while in the external niches at the four sides

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were the figures, customary for Java, of Durga Mahishasuramardini (north), Ganesa (west, or, if the entrance faced westwards, east), and one of a Rshi (south). At the presumable entrance was, likewise in relief, the traditional figure of Siva, in the shape of Mahadeva, with four arms, holding a *chamara* and *akshamala* in the rear hands—doubtless on the same principle here as in the case of the king's figure at the rock *chandi* on the Kalebutan. . . . These miniature *chandis* evidently stood on a base (*yoni*) and did service as real *chandis*, though in none of them could I discover traces of formerly deposited ashes. These must have been placed in the *yoni*."[14]

A link between this oriented presentation of Durga dating from the Middle Period and the present time is to be found in a soft stone carving of Durga, again as Mahisasuramardini, on the "back wall of the northernmost *gedong* (closed shrine)," in the temple, Poera Medoewé Karang, Koeboetambahan, as reported by Dr. C. J. Grader.[15] (see Pl. XII, *d*) This figure is very much closer to the modern style. It has the enormous mouth, wide open, with huge teeth and a tongue hanging down half way to the waist. All around the head are floating flames or hair, emanating from the figure and covering the entire back wall of the shrine. One leg is raised, the right one, giving the figure the characteristic asymmetrical look. What appears to be a diminutive representation of the demon buffalo crouches beneath her, squeezed between the left thigh and the right and pressed down by the right foot. The one breast which is visible is no longer the relatively underdeveloped breast of Figure 28, but tending to elongation like those of the contemporary Rangda. The figure is rendered mildly obscene—I say mildly, for this is by no means the most striking aspect of the representation—by the exposure of the female genitalia. Dr. Grader is explicit in referring this Durga figure to Rangda. He says:

Very important is the ornamentation on the back wall of the northern *gedong* (shrine) and the decoration on the back part of the *padmasana* (throne of Surya, the Sun). On the *gedong* is a free standing sculpture of Doerga (Durga) in her manifestation as *rangda*, in a sitting position and with her knees far apart. So her sexual organs can be seen clearly. She is putting her right hand on the head of a small figure who stands behind the knee of the goddess; her right foot rests upon a cow in miniature. Obviously it is the idea to show a figure of Mahisasuramardini.

The sculpture is important because the well known Doerga of the entire Old Javanese art history here is accommodated to local conceptions. The figure of the *rangda*, the reproduction of Doerga, the goddess of the temple of the dead, in the shape of a witch, is popular in Balinese art. Moreover, the *rangda* appears in different types of theatre and dance as for instance in the Tjalonarang play and in various *djaoek* (mask) and *barong* plays. Concerning the literature, one knows the *rangda* especially from the Tjalonarang

[14] Stutterheim, 1935, p. 30.
[15] Grader, 1940, p. 16.

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stories; all of them show in prose as well as in poetry a curious connection with the time of Erlangga. In addition to that the *rangda* is the representative of black magic, the witchcraft, typical especially for love magic. From this one can explain the strong sexual character of the *rangda* figure in the *poera* (temple) Medoewé Karang; as a demonic figure, too, and through her relationship with the underworld and the realm of death, she is connected with the principle of fertility. While the sanctuary as a whole is connected with the ritual of fertility, the ornamentation deals with the idea of the *rangda*, with the subject of the sexual drive. If one wants to stress the character of Mahisasuramardini, the motif might be seen as a means of the magic averting power against the dark impulses. This ambivalence in Doerga's character is related to her chthonic nature. The chthonic nature, however, represents the good and the evil. The *betara di dalem*, the gods of the underworld, represent the kingdom of death as well as the germinating life. The principle of fertility is not only concerned with agriculture but is connected, too, with getting many children.

Besides the many different *boetas* and *kalas*, the army of evil demons who cause all the malice, illness, misfortune, and failure of crops—very often one has to satisfy them by bringing them sacrifices—there are, too, numerous demonic guardians of house and courtyard, of the temple area and the entrance, of the gardens and *sawahs* (wet rice fields).

Witchcraft is fought by white magic. This is, again, of chthonic nature and is personified in the *barong*. The idea of the *barong* shows clearly its connection with the nether world.[15]

Dr. Grader has here been explicit in stating the connection of Durga with Rangda, of Rangda with black magic, and through this back again in circular fashion, with the chthonic side of Durga's dual character. He does not, unfortunately, tell us if this hypothesis is supported by any statements of Balinese, members of the temple. He states the antithesis, Rangda-Barong, since the Barong is seen in this scheme of things as a personification of the powers of white magic. But he does not offer any suggestion of what the Barong's antecedents might be, parallel to those of Rangda, now known as a masked figure, to be found in the named Durga images dating from Middle Balinese times. It is because Rangda and Barong have in the contemporary period achieved such a central place as masked figures, dramatic representations of transformations, and because when ceremonial trance seizures occur the communication is established between the supernatural and the temple members by means of these impersonations, that Europeans have come to regard Rangda and Barong as intimately connected and can hardly mention one without the other. The wedding of these two is recent. That it is an unending battle royal, a Punch and Judy show on a grand scale, does not weaken the tie between them. But as to when and where this antagonism came into being we have practically no evidence, and we had best be wary

[15] *Ibid.*

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of hypotheses which would explain the present in terms stemming from an insufficiently known past.

In justice to Dr. Grader it must be said that he seems to have mentioned the Rangda connection with the Durga figure in passing, not intending to give it the stress which it receives when taken out of context. Actually, the decoration of the shrine in question is of minor importance in this temple, a head agrarian temple for dry agriculture. Along the front are large three dimensional figures of the whole dramatis personae of the Ramayana, with Kumbakarna, a giant figure, dominating them. Inside the second, inner court is an impressive carved throne of Surya, the Sun, flanked by the shrines to the male and female deities bearing Balinese names, *ratoe penaban sari, lanangistri*. Very careful investigations of the names given by Balinese temple members and priests to the various shrines within a temple, often very numerous, do not as a rule turn up any mention of Durga nor likeness recalling the familiar Rangda. Grader's study of Madénan, for example, an old style mountain village, gives seventeen named shrines and buildings within the village temple and, as one would expect, no mention of Durga or Rangda.[11] Goris' exhaustive study of Bali's head temple, Besakih, gives forty-nine named shrines and buildings, none for Durga or Rangda.[12] Those of us who worked especially on ceremonial in Bali over a period of years came to regard the existence of a named Durga shrine as very definitely a rarity, though Rangda masks kept in the temple were exceedingly common; and it was not unusual to find a set of three, four, or five Rangda masks all belonging to the same temple and said to be "related" (kin) to the Barongs and Rangdas of other villages in the region.

Before going on to actual instances of Rangda and Barong impersonations, a few words are in order on our knowledge of the historical period to which the Balinese refer the Rangda tales. Stutterheim refers the stories to the period of Erlangga, the eleventh century king whose mother was a Javanese and under whose rule the Javanese kingdom was split.[13]

Covarrubias, basing his view on Stutterheim's, states the historical background of the story as follows:

> At the beginning of the eleventh century a Balinese prince became the king of Java, the great Erlangga. His mother, Mahendradatta, was a Javanese princess who ruled Bali with her Balinese husband, Dharmodayana, until the husband, suspecting her of practising evil magic, exiled her to the forest.

[11] Grader, n.d.
[12] Goris, 1937.
[13] Stutterheim, 1935, *passim*.

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the Balinese mother smiles upon her son when she has taught him to say and feel "*Sing buni,*" when she has taught him fear.

That this tie up between the mother and fear exists in Bali there can be no doubt. But that the Rangda should be construed as Mother Figure representative of the total feeling toward the mother, and that this substitution should be carried over into adulthood until the young man looks forward to marrying a girl who will turn into a witch, "marry a woman whose attitude toward human relations will be exactly that of his own mother,"[80] is a point of view with which this writer does not agree. Rangda serves only as a representation of the fear aspect of the Mother Figure. There is a split in the feeling toward the mother, the destructive, witchlike, devouring, and deathly side of her represented in the Rangda, which Mead and Bateson have stressed, and the loving, beautiful, food-giving aspect of the living woman.

Balinese women are famous the world over for their beauty, their grace, and their graciousness as people, and of this quality the women themselves do not seem unaware. The men, equally handsome and graceful, are appreciative of the gracious quality of the female and remark upon a pretty face, a beautiful breast, with connoisseurship such as they apply to the arts. Women who bear children are highly valued, and the importance of having issue is in this culture equal for the male and the female. Women cook the daily rice, which is holy. The making of the little rice goddess, Dewi Sri, at each harvest time from the first cut sheaf is apparently an Old Indonesian rite, representative of both the food giving and fertility aspects of the female. At New Year's time, before each house is hung a *lamak*, a palm leaf panel with cut out designs in highly stylized Old Indonesian patterns. On each panel, executed in a distinctive manner in each village, is a stylized tree, probably a male symbol, and a *tjili*, a lovely slender lady with triangular body and a circular headdress. This *tjili* figure has been identified with Dewi Sri, with the *dedari* (*widadari*, Sanskrit *vidya-dhari*), heavenly nymphs, in whose name the little girl trance dancers (*sang hyang dedari*) are invoked. A myriad of different forms among the offerings and the receptacles for the soul in post-mortuary ceremonies recall this graceful, somewhat infantile female figure. It seems that we are dealing here with a prototype of the feminine spirit figure from Old Indonesian times, brought down to us more or less intact in the *tjili* patterns and carried over, with necessary modifications, into the Hinduistic death ritual where needed. Covarrubias[81]

[80] Bateson and Mead, 1942, p. 36.
[81] Covarrubias, 1937, pp. 172-75, 177, 179 and 181.

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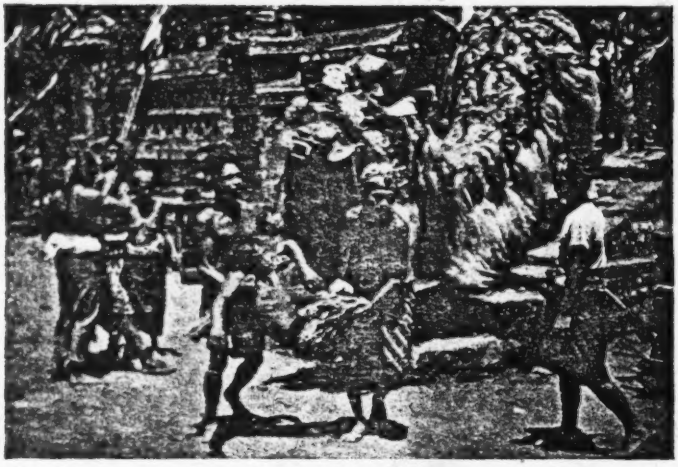

Carrying a trancer who has lost consciousness from the scene. The Barong in the background. (*Photo Gregory Bateson.*)

Forcing a trancer under the elevated mask of the Barong, in order to bring him to himself. (*Photo Gregory Bateson.*)

The trancer is "smoked," to bring him out of trance. Note that he is held around the neck. (*Photo E. Sutherland.*)

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[End plate 7, following P. 62]

4:Belo E-5 (1931-1939) 1949 OF7 Bali OF7

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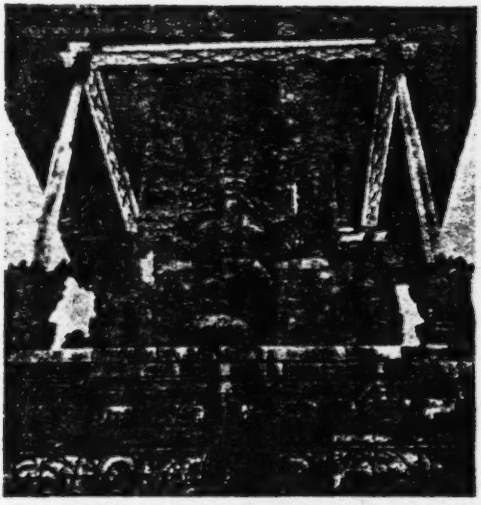
Durga Mahisasuramardini, Koetri, Bali. (*after Stutterheim.*)

Durga Mahisasuramardini, Koetri, Bali. (*after Stutterheim.*)

Durga Mahisasuramardini, Bedoeloe, Bali. (*after Stutterheim.*)



Durga Mahisasuramardini, Koeboetambahan, Bali. (*after Grader.*)

[End Plate 12, following P. 62]

5: Belo E-5 (1931-1934)1935 OF7 Bali OF7

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Photo Arch. Service.

9. *The twin gods of Kĕtèwèl, Mas Mĕtĕkèl and Mas Murug.*

8:Hooykaas E-5 (ca. 1959) 1961 OF7 Bali OF7

*783 Mostly it is only the *lis isuh-isuh* or *lis tĕgtĕg* that is used for sprinkling
778 the holy water, but occasionally a second *lis* is also used. Although serving the same function as the *lis isuh-isuh*, this second *lis* is of a completely different form and is designated by another name. It is the *lis sanjata* formed from the symbols of the *nawa sanga* the 'weapons' or emblems of the gods.

In addition, there is the *pĕbuhu*[2], a *lis isuh-isuh* in miniature, but comprising only certain of the features of the *lis isuh-isuh*[3]. The *(pe)buhu* is included amongst the *ètèh-ètèh padudusan*, ritual objects on the high platform from which the *padanda* (Brahman priest) officiates.

Structure of the lis isuh-isuh

*783 Some forty odd features are incorporated in the design of the *lis*, some
778 being forms cut out of palm leaf, others being woven or plaited from palm leaf strips. To watch the making of a *lis* is to witness a wonder of
532 artistic skill. The fact that almost all the offerings are designated by terms
285 that are etymologically old led Goris to conclude that this art was an indigenous cultural element of great antiquity[4]. In general I find it possible to agree with that opinion, although this art would have been also applied to the making of offerings which expressed concepts absorbed from alien culture patterns. The symbols of the *nawa sanga* are an eloquent
[177] example of the absorption of external cultural influences. It is sometimes possible to trace a Hindu influence even where a purely Balinese term is used to designate an offering. This point must not be overlooked. It is significant that the *tukang bantĕn*, the woman who prepares the offerings, is usually the daughter of a Brahman priest. If this was the custom in past centuries it is obvious how new motifs could have been introduced into the traditional art of making offerings.

The actual making of the offerings was demonstrated to me by a *pĕdanda's* daughter, who had learnt the art from her mother, an ordained
[463] priestess, and who earns her livelihood as *tukang bantĕn* at temple festivals and ceremonies in the houses of the nobility.

To cut out the required shapes from the young palm leaf she used a large kitchen knife, each movement of the knife being away from her. The leaves fashioned to represent limbs were also partly plaited into the required forms.

The drawings accompanying this article were made by Ida Bagus Anom, a professional artist at Ubud and a Brahman by birth but not ordained, from parts of the *lis* prepared by his sister-in-law, who is also a Brahman.

[2] Cf. Swellengrebel, op cit.

[3] These components are *lawat bwah* (13), *lawat nyuh* (14), *lilit linting* (15), *nihan sasapi* (19), and *sapuh* (23), the *sapuh* being duplicated.

[4] R. Goris and P. L. Dronkers, *Bali*, published by the Government of the Republic of Indonesia, Jakarta, 1953?

8:Hooykaas E-5 (ca. 1959) 1961 OF7 Bali OF7

The procedure she followed in fashioning these parts was slightly different from that followed by my informant.

1 *tangkar* breast bone, to which
2 *iga* ribs, are attached with a section of the central fibre of a palm leaf. This *tangkar-iga*, which is itself an independent offering made both as a dough-cake and as a terracotta modelling, occurs also amongst the *ètèh-ètèh padudusan*, the ritual objects discussed in the second section of this article. Both the dough-cake and the terracotta modelling must derive their significance from the *lis*. An illustration of the dough-cake *tangkar-iga* is given by Swellengrebel [5].
3 *basang wayah* old belly, less rigidly plaited than
4 *basang nguda* young belly, of which the zigzag pattern is more pointed.
5 *pungsèd* navel, represented by five folds in the leaf. The *basang wayah*, *basang nguda* and *pungsèd* are attached to each other at the base in the same way as the *tangkar-iga*.
6 *ati* liver, an elaborately cut out design.

7 *babangkan* loins, represented by a cluster of four loops (not shown in illustration).
8 *jajaringan* omentum (not always included; not illustrated).
9 *tangan* two arms, plaited in a realistic form.
10 *èntud* two knees, plaited and creased in the middle.
11 *tulang gihing* spine, plaited in a simple symmetric pattern.
12 *tènggèk* neck, simply a cut strip of leaf.
13 *lawat bwah* 'shadow of the fruit' (betel nut), on the one side, and
14 *lawat nyuh* 'shadow of the coconut' on the other side of the
15 *lilit linting* rigid, symmetrically plaited form.

The *lilit linting* warrants some comment. There are various offerings designated by this name. It is possible that the term means 'tightly entwined or embraced'. The terracotta *lilit linting* included amongst the *ètèh-ètèh padudusan* is of particular interest. This terracotta *lilit linting* recalls the Siwa-Sakti symbol discussed at length by Avalon in his 'Serpent Power' [6], the snake Kundalini twined around Siwa's *lingga*. But instead of the prescribed three-and-a-half coils of the Tantric symbol, the 'snake' of the *lilit linting* — if indeed it is a snake — makes only three or less. It is certainly not impossible that the Tantric symbol has been preserved in the *lilit linting* although in the sacred *lontar* texts the concept of Kundalini as a snake has apparently been lost. This symbolism is only becoming known again — and then only

[5] Cf. Swellengrebel, op. cit. Pl. VIII.
[6] A. Avalon, *The Serpent Power*, 5th edition, Madras, 1953.

[Seepp. 43 – 47. -- Analyst]

8:Hooykaas E-5 (ca. 1959) 1961 OF7 Bali OF7

to the few students of the *lontars* in the towns through contemporary theosophic writings.[7]

There are two reasons, apart from its striking resemblance to the Indian *yantra*, for considering the *lilit linting* as a Siwa-Sakti motif.

Firstly, as a component of the *lis*, the *lilit linting* is in the lower part of the body of the holy water sprinkler.

The second reason is that the earthenware object is sometimes used by the market women 'to awaken the desire of the buyers'. Perhaps Kundalini is playing here her old rôle.

16 *inèh* midriff; the word *inèh* means door; the word *pintu* was also given as the designation of the midriff of the *lis*; the illustration brings to mind the divided temple gate known as *chandi bintar*, and it is hardly surprising to find this part of the *lis* referred to by Swellengrebel op. cit., as *margn* (way, roadway).

17 *tangga mènèk* This 'ascending stairway' and the following

18 *tangga tuhun* 'descending stairway' are distinguishable the one from the other by the respective up and downward direction of the points cut of the leaf. It is evident that the *tangga mènèk* and *tangga tuhun* constitute a most important element of the *lis* in view of the fact that the same feature is also included in the *(pè)buhu*, the simplified *lis*, and in view of the special references in the *mantras* to the stairways, in certain *mantras* described as silver and golden.

19 *jahan* ladder, also designated as *jahan sasapi*, this name denoting the small figure of a swallow *(sasapi)* cut out in the leaf.

These foregoing elements of the *lis* are those which can be considered as integral with the *busung* (belly) of the *lis*. Strictly speaking, the arms should not be included in this group, but they are technically in the same category, being made also from one single leaf. Frequently the arms are omitted from the *lis*.

The following elements (20-32) are distinct from the foregoing in that each is made from three leaves and each has on the upper part a face (*mamata*, having eyes) above which the strips of leaf the actual sprinkler form, as it were, the headdress.

(The features listed under Nos 16-19 are transitional elements as they are also *mamata*).

For the making of those features of the *lis* fashioned from three leaves the young coconut palm leaves being about a yard long with a strong central fibre along which the two halves form an angle of 120 the procedure is to attach the leaves to each other with the centre fibres touching so that there is an identical pattern on three sides.

[7] A Balinese friend gave me as a parting gift a book that I had seen in a book shop in Denpasar, *Kundalini yoga*, by Swami Sivananda, translated (into Indonesian) by Kwee Liong Tian) Malang, no date.

[See P.P. 48-49 for illustrations — ANALYST.]

8:Hooykaas E-5 (ca. 1959) 1961 OF7 Bali OF7

20 *balung* bones, a complicated, cut out design in which various elements can be distinguished, notably
uwat muscles, indicated by parallel slits in the leaf;
balung ëmpat four bones;
balung bolong bones with holes, vertebrae.

These twenty components make up the anthropomorphic aspect of the *lis*. Next come those components representing, for the most part, trees to which is ascribed the power of warding off evil. The leaves of these trees are also encountered in offerings associated with other purificatory ceremonies.

21 *anchak* representing a tree of which the leaves may only be used in offerings to the Sun God. These offerings are placed on the *palinggihan dèwa dèwi*, the 'seat' to which the Sun God and his *sakti* are invited to descend.

22 *bingin* an elaborately cut out pattern representing the '*waringin*' tree and comprising
sasapi swallow,
don leaves,
woh fruit,
sanging hanging branch roots.

The *waringin* is generally regarded as the most sacred of trees. The previously mentioned offerings made in terracotta and in dough include a *bingin* with a bird figure decorating the top. The offerings made in terracotta, palm leaf, and dough have an identical significance.

23 *sapuh* broom.

24 *pamulak sinjata* 'protection against weapons', the character of this element being emphasized by the sharp points around the bottom and the top.

25 *kayu tulak*) artistically designed patterns representing types of
26 *kayu silsih*) fern.

These two elements also occur as finely cut leaves amongst the subsidiary offerings accompanying the *lis*.

27 *ambëngan alang-alang* leaves.

28 *padang lëpas* grass stalks.

In his description of Balinese rites Van Eerde[8] reports the custom of burying in the soil or stone foundation of the household shrines an earthenware pot in which is placed a miniature silver or gold casket *(chachupu)* containing five metal plates inscribed with mystic letters *(pripih)*, manifestations of the gods *(raga sang kauritan)* the pripih being enclosed in a wrapping of 9 *alang-alang* leaves *(munchuk*

[8] J. C. van Eerde, '*Hindu-Javaansche en Balische Eeredienst*', Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indie, LXV, pp. 16-17, The Hague, 1911.

8:Hooykaas E-5 (ca. 1959) 1961 OF7 Bali OF7

ambèngan). 7 grass stalks (*munchuk pulang lipas*). 7 tufts of cotton from the *rimbiga* plant (*kapuk miduri*) bound round with the white-black-red thread of the gods (*benang tri datu*).

29 *kakurungan* cage, in which the offering maker places a *kukur*, the figure of a dove. Sometimes this cage is not made and then the dove is placed in the *lis*.

30 *tulung* a pattern of three, four or five equally spaced rings of leaves, one on top of the other. I was unable to establish the meaning of the word *tulung*.

31 *lad sumbah* This component could be called an adoration symbol. The meaning of the word *lad* is here not understandable. The figure is an intricately cut out pattern comprising:
tlapakan footsole,
kuku nails,
batis foot,
lad ? and
sumbah posture of obeisance, the *sumbah* being expressed by a leaf so folded as to suggest hands placed together before the face.

32 *kuku n kambing* goat's hoof. As a component of the *lis asah asah* it is made from a whole *busung*; as a component of the *lis sanjata* it is made from strips of leaf folded into a pentagonal shape about one inch thick (not illustrated).

It need hardly be pointed out that from village to village there are endless variations on the same basic pattern.

These 32 components, topped by the finely cut strips of palm leaf constitute the *lis* as a holy water sprinkler. The only addition required is two Chinese coins, designated as *buah* (fruit) which are tied on to it.

The *lis* must now be completed as an offering. The nimble fingers of the offering maker begin weaving the *tipats* in which the glutinous rice is cooked and kept when prepared. These are called

33 *tipat tulud* named by analogy with the *tulud*, an oblong piece of wood with a handle attached that is used for sweeping away refuse. This form is also employed for the similarly named offering made of dough, in both instances to symbolize the banishment of the forces of evil. In some villages a tuft of the 'hair' of the *lis* is placed in the *tipat tulud* after the ceremonial cutting of the hair. In other villages food is placed in this *tipat*. Both the *tipat tulud* and the *tipat pusuh* are cut open during the ceremony of the consecration of the *lis* preceding the actual sprinkling of the holy water with the *lis*. This ceremony will be described later.

34 *tipat pusuh* navel *tipat*, round shaped.

Next the components forming the belly are bound together and then those components which are *mamata* (with a face). The thick bundle

8:Hooykaas E-5 (ca. 1959) 1961 OF7 Bali OF7

formed by these 34 components is bound together with new strips of palm leaf after the

35 *tatakan* pedestal has been attached.

These additional strips of palm leaf represent items of apparel and are designated as

36 *kamběn batěn* undergarment
37 *kamběn di awak* outer garment (not shown in the illustration)
38 *sabuk* waistband, plaited in a simple pattern (not shown in the illustration)
39 *cherik* breast covering, cut out of leaf and sometimes duplicated.

The fashioning of the clothing allows full scope for the imagination of the offering maker who will sometimes encircle the *lis* with a leaf from which a hole is cut out, named

40 *jit* (bottom).

It is obvious that the *lis* is regarded as a deity or as the seat of a deity from the fact that, after binding all the components together and after arranging the 'hair' and finally tying a strip of leaf around the entire figure, the offering maker cuts out

41 *sasah* face, a *chili*-shaped offering [9] (not shown in the illustration).
42 *dingding* ? together with
43 *payung* parasol,
which are 'stitched' on to the top of the *lis*, and then goes on to weave
44 *balé gading* a white or gold-coloured pavilion — for as a deity the *lis* must have a fitting residence — which is also called *timpal lis*, companion of the *lis*.

The *balé gading* is encountered in numerous Balinese rituals. At a teeth-filing ceremony it is placed on the platform where the operation is carried out. The youths and girls whose teeth are to be filed first make a *sembah* before the *balé gading* for 'Kumara and Kumari and the *wididaris*' as it was explained to me.

During the celebration of the *galungan* festival, the *pènyor*, the decorated bamboo poles erected on such occasions, have at the top a *balé gading* from which hangs a *lamak*, a woven panel. The *pènyor* is the standard symbol for Gunung Agung, Great Mountain, and is usually decorated with rice ears and a coconut. The *lamak* is invariably embellished with a *chili* design, the symbol of the Rice Goddess, and often with patterns based on a mountain motif. I consider the *lamak* to be a female symbol constituting a counterpart to the *pènyor* as the male symbol. Together the

[9] Miguel Covarrubias, *Island of Bali*, Alfred Knopf, New York, 1937, repeatedly reprinted.

8:Hooykaas E-5 (ca. 1959) 1961 OF7 Bali OF7

*783 *pènyor* and the *lamak* represent the divine couple Mountain and Lake
778 Gunung Agung and Dèwi Danu. The *balé gading* on the *pènyor* is a bridal
532 pavilion for Gunung Agung and Dèwi Danu, just as the *balé gading* at the teeth-filing ceremony is a bridal pavilion for Kumara and Kumari. In the Smaradahana [10], the 12th century old Javanese epic, the *grèha*
[536] *danta* (XXVI.12) or metri causa, *mandira gading* (XXVII.1), denotes the 'pavilion for the daughter of the Lord of the Mountain' to which Manmatharipu (Siwa) betook himself, there to lay with her. Significantly, the *pènyor* is also designated as *pènyor pèngantèn* and the *balé gading* is also named *sanggah pèngantèn* (nuptial shrine).

In fashioning the *balé gading* the offering maker begins by cutting out the rectangular floor and then four 'pillars' called *suda-mala* (cleansed of impurity), to support the roof which rises to an elaborately patterned point. Then she weaves two *tipat lèpas* (purification *tipats*), the larger one representing the bride and the smaller one representing the bridegroom.
[585] Obviously the *balé gading* of the *lis* is also a bridal pavilion. Next she cuts out a miniature basket, the *longlong lalasan*, the house of the snake, as it was explained to me. However, as far as I know the offering maker does not make any representation of the snake itself.

The *longlong lalasan* is placed between the *tipat muani*, the bridegroom and the *tipat luh*, the bride, and the contents of the *balé gading* are fastened in position.

What is the significance of the snake between the bridal pair? Is the *longlong lalasan* a relic of an ancient tradition or is it merely an embellishment devised by the offering makers?

[171] The *balé gading*, just as the *grèha danta* of the Smaradahana, must date back to a court tradition of Indian origin. Since the Smaradahana is essentially a Tantric text [11] there might seem to be grounds for assuming that the *longlong lalasan* is derived from the snake symbolism of the Tantric marriage ceremonies. The designs of modern Indian colour prints such as those printed extensively in Bombay depicting Siwa and Sakti, feature large and small snakes. The significance of the snake Kundalini, the Sakti symbol, in this connection is well known. However, much more data is needed before any attempt could be made to identify the snake between the bride and bridegroom in the *balé gading* with the Indian symbol.

In making the lis *isuh-isuh* the offering maker fashions the various components in a definite sequence, beginning with the belly. A definite sequence is also followed in the making of the *lis sanjata*. The offering maker begins by cutting the shapes of the emblems of the four directions

[10] Text and translation by Poerbatjaraka, Bibliotheca Javanica III, Koninklijk Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, Batavia (Jakarta), 1933.

[11] J. H. Hooykaas van Leeuwen Boomkamp, 'Prae Muslims Huwelijk op Java', Indonesië, X 2, 1957, pp. 109-136.

8:Hooykaas E-5 (ca. 1959) 1961 OF7 Bali OF7

first the *bajra*, thunderbolt with a bell, for the East, then the *gada* (club) for the South, *naga-pasa* (snake arrow) for the West, the *chakra* (discus) for the North, then the emblems for the intermediary directions, the *dupa* (incense bowl) for the South-east, the *moksala* (club) for the South-west, the *angkusa* (elephant goad) for the North-west, the *trisula* (trident) for the North-east, and finally the *padma* (lotus) for the Centre.

The directions do not correspond to the points of the compass but conform to the Balinese orientation which places the North *(kaja)* in the direction of the mountains (Mount Meru) and the South *(klod)* in the direction of the sea, the location of the East *(kangin)* and the West *(kauh)* ranging accordingly. The offering maker did not know the names of the gods associated with the respective directions and she confused the *angkusa* and the *moksala*.

Nor was the artist who did the drawings of the weapons for me able to reproduce the form of the *angkusa*, the elephant goad with the curved tip, a symbol that occurs both in the *lis* and in a dough-cake that is made as an offering. In the example I saw the colours of the *nawa-sanga* were correct: white for the East, dark red for the South, yellow for the West, and black for the North. The red *danda* (club) in the South being flanked by a light red *dupa* and an orange *moksala* for Rudra, and the black *chakra* of Wisnu in the North by a green *angkusa* of Sankara and a blue *trisula* of Sambu.

The *sénjata* I saw amongst the paraphernalia of a *dalang* also included an *angkusa* but the owner did not know the name of it [12].

The making of the *lis isuh isuh* and the *lis sénjata* and the *balé gading* is now finished, but, as the *payung* indicates, the *lis isuh isuh* is a deity, so that offerings must be made to it. The offering maker then cuts a *panyuud* or *papuput*, completion of the lis, which is a fan of palm leaf. At the base of the fan are placed two miniature baskets containing finely cut *don tulak* and *don slisih*, the two sorts of leaves which, in the form of repheas cut out of *busung*, were included amongst the components of the *lis*.

Finally there is added a *bantén mabrésih*, a purification offering, consisting of a palm leaf tray on which are placed five small baskets containing materials required for the toilet of the *lis isuh-isuh* — *sisig*, a brush for brushing the teeth; *minyak*, oil for the hair; *masangling kunyit*, curcuma root for chewing after the filing of the teeth; *ambuh*, ash (usually of rice

[12] Ritualistic texts in Bali, whether they emanate from the *griya* of the brahman *padanda*, from the house of the *pamangku* or from the *sénggahwan* of the exercist priest, the *sénggahu* or *rési bhujangga*, abound in *wédas* and *mantras* enumerating the gods, the directions of the compass designed to them, their colour and their *sanjata*; sometimes their goddess *sakti* and vehicle are added. Dr. J. E. van Lohuizen de Leeuw in her paper 'The Dikpālakas in ancient Java', BKI 111/4, 1955, pp. 356–384 studied the *nawa-sanga* and its gods, their mounts and attributes from archeological materials. Cf. also Swellengrebel, *Vorstenwijding*, op. cit. 22–23.

8: Hooykaas E-5 (ca. 1959ʃ 1961 OF7 Bali OF7

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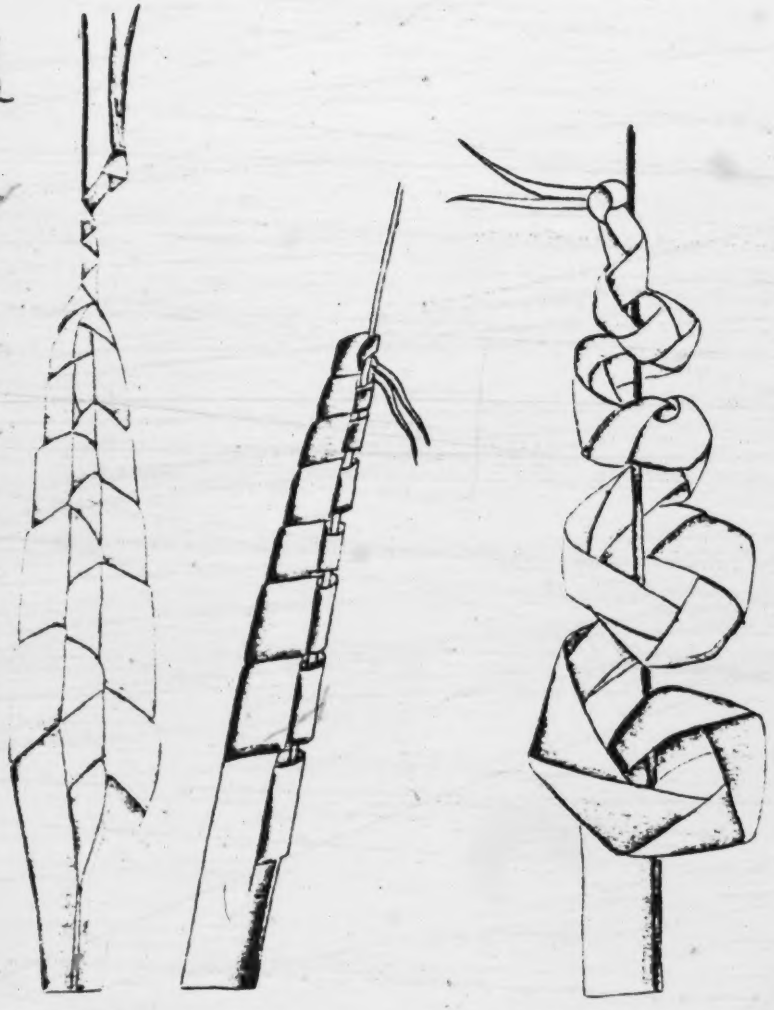

1. *tangkar* 2. *iga* 3. *basang ceayah*

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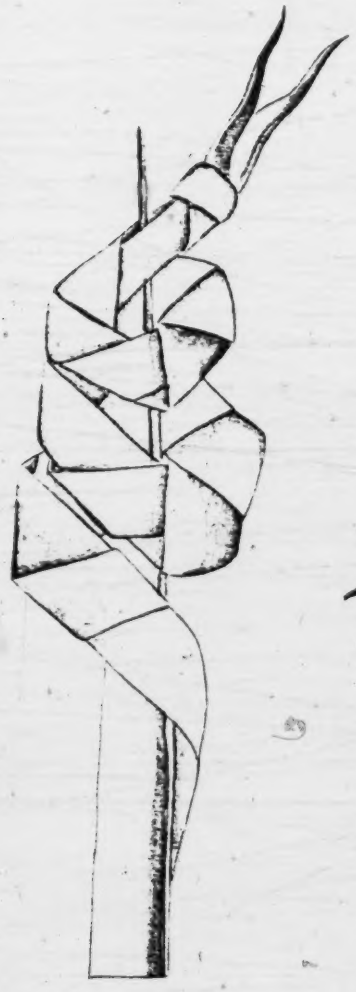
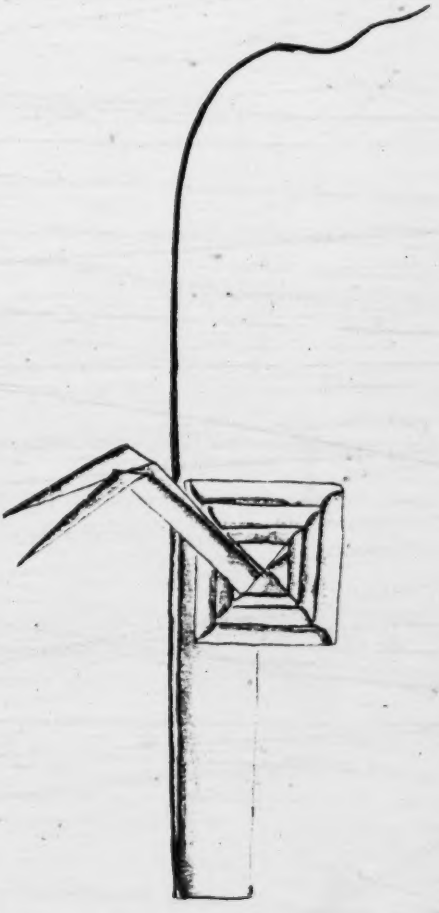


4. *basang nguda*



5. *pingsèd*

8: Hooykaas E-5 (ca. 1959) 1961 OF7 Bali OF7

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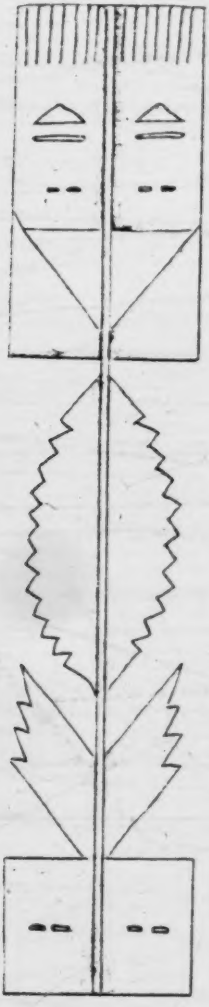

6. *ati*

9. *tangan*

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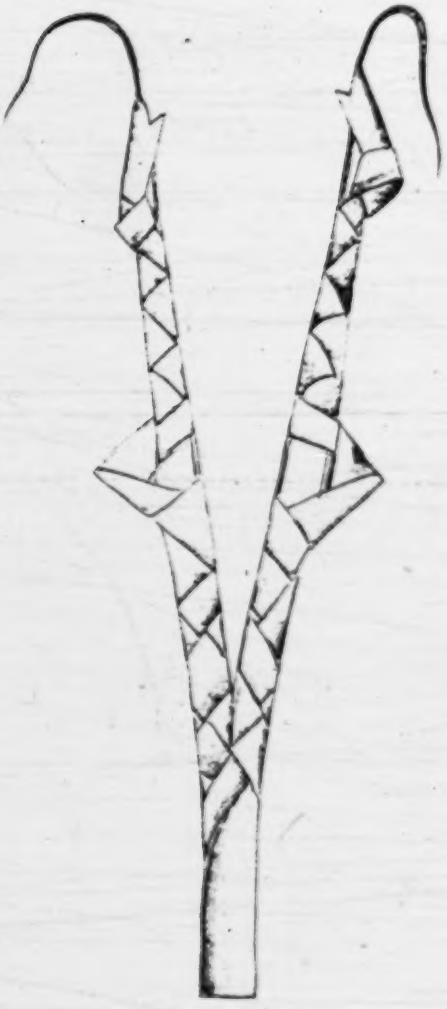

10. *èntud*

11. *tulang giling*

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12. *tènggèk*

13. *lawat bumb*

15. *lilit linting*

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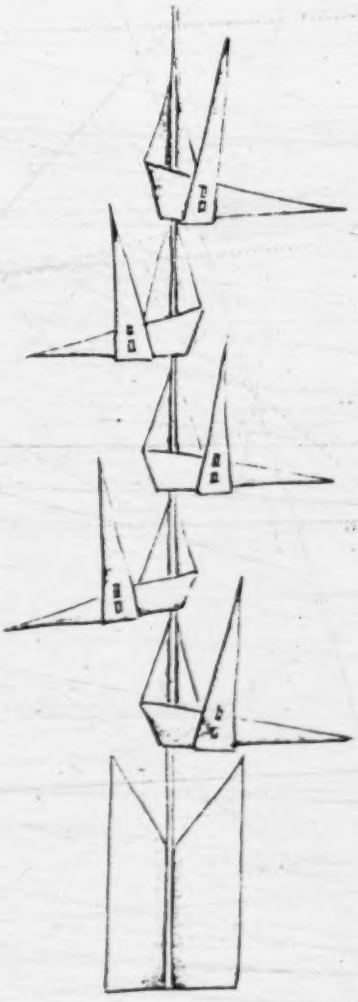
16. *inèb*



17. *tangga mènèk*

8: Hooykaas E-5 (ca. 1959) 1961 OF7 Bali OF7

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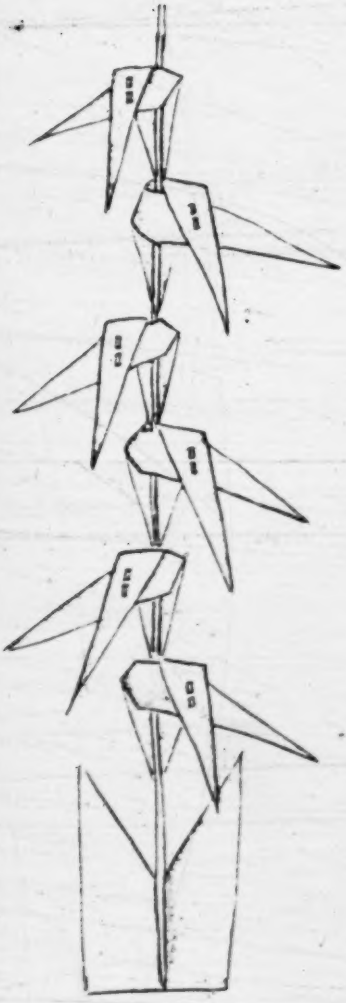
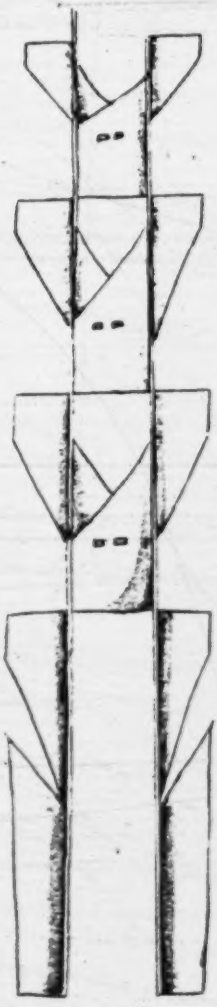


18. *tangga tuhun*



19. *jahan*

20. *balung*

8: Hooykaas E-5 (ca. 1959) 1961 OF7 Bali OF7

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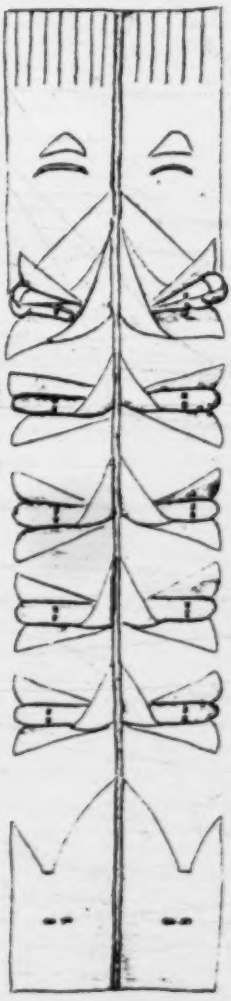
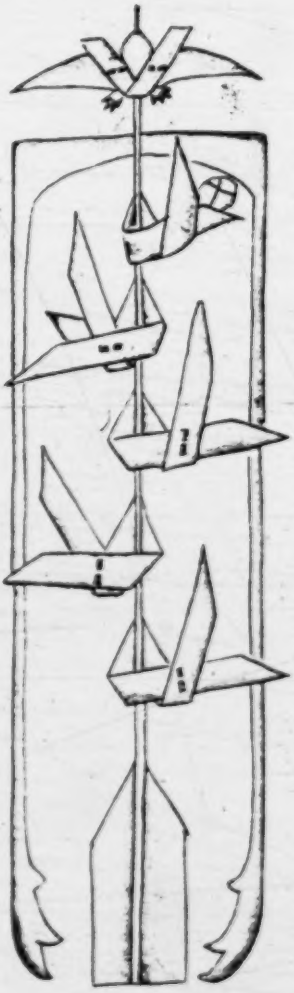


21. *anchak*



22. *bingin*

8: Hooykaas E-5 (ca. 1959) 1961 OF7 Bali OF7

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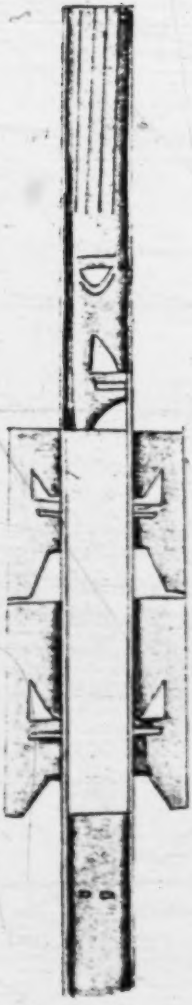

23. *sapuh*

24. *panulak sinjata*

25. *kayu tulak*

8: Hooykaas E-5 (ca. 1959) 1961 OF7 Bali OF7

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26. *kayu alisih*

27. *ambéngan*

28. *padang lépas*

8: Hooykaas E-5 (ca. 1959) 1961 OF7 Bali OF7

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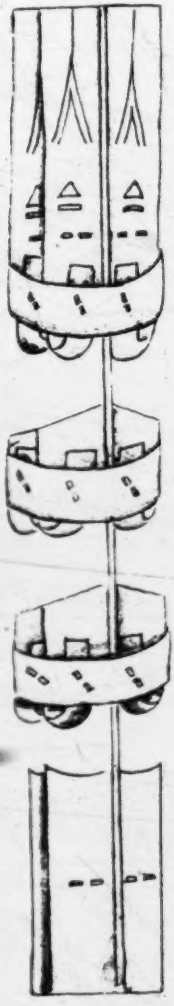
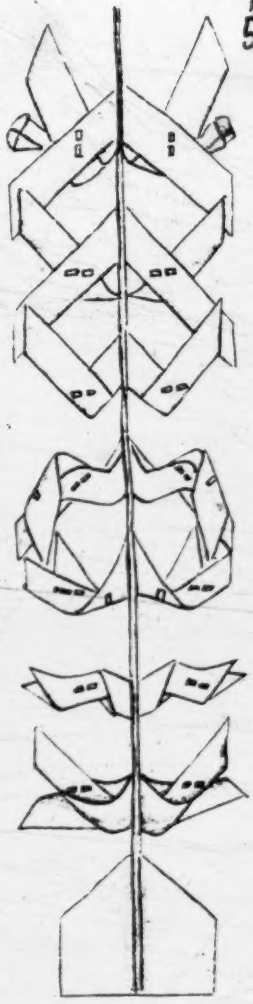
29. *kukurungan*



30. *tulung*



31. *lad sumbah*

8: Hooykaas E-5 (ca. 1959) 1961 OF7 Bali OF7

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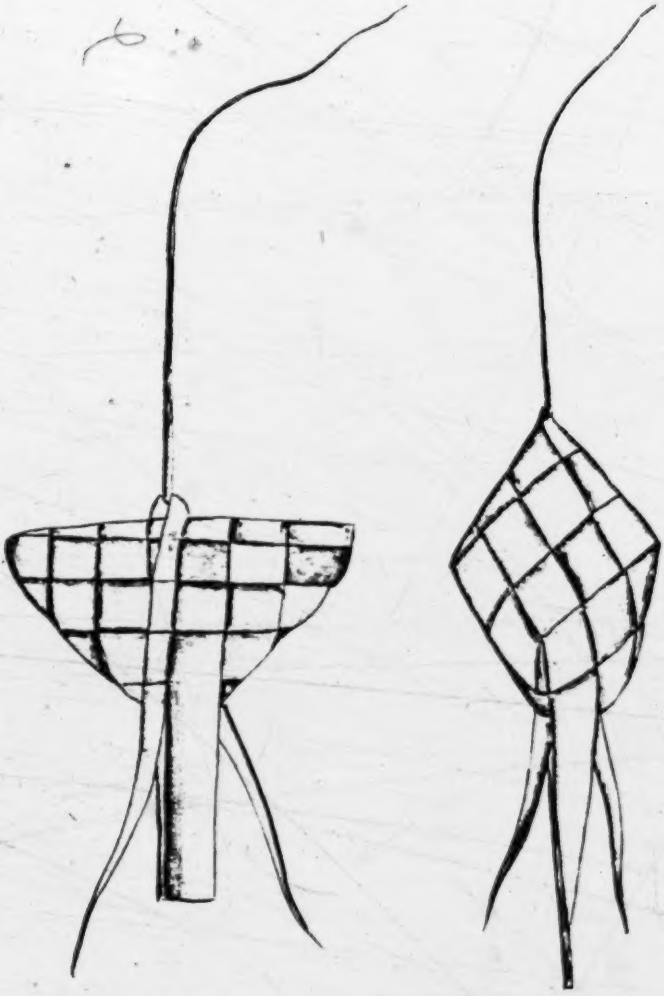

33. *tipat tulud* 34. *tipat pusuh*

8: Hooykaas E-5 (ca. 1959) 1961 OF7 Bali OF7

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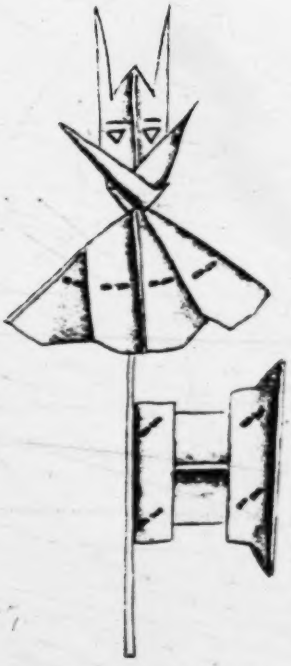
36. *kamběn bětèn*



42. *dingding* (below) 43. *payung* (above)

8: Hooykaas E-5 (ca. 1959) 1961 OF7 Bali OF7

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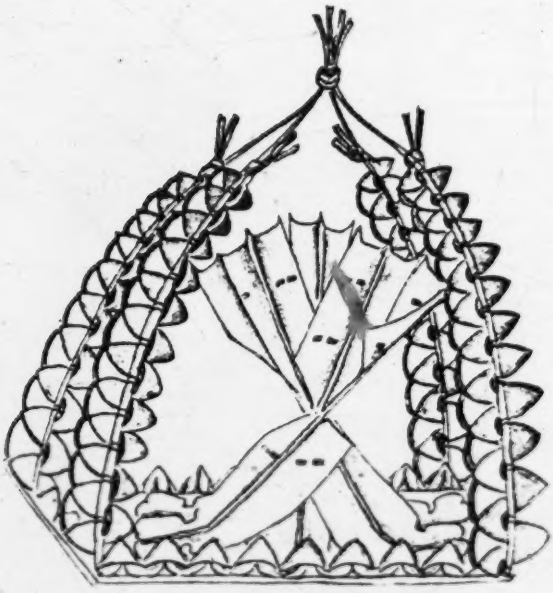

44. *balé gading*

[PP. 57-58 are blank]

8: Hooykaas E-5 (ca. 1959) 1961 OF7 Bali OF7

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51. *tangkar iga*

52. *mimi or mimi mintuna*

[782]

53. *pras*

54. *Unknown*

55. *padang lèpas*

8: Hooykaas E-5 (ca. 1959) 1961 OF7 Bali OF7

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56. *nikèpan*

57. *designation unknown*

58. *lilit linting*

59. *kuwak/tuwak? balé gading?*

60. *tumpèng*

8: Hooykaas E-5 (ca. 1959) 1961 OF7 Bali OF7

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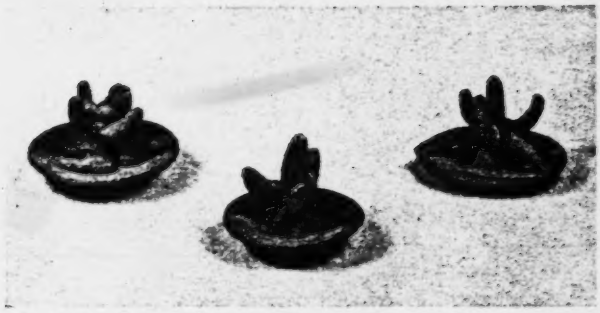
61. *unknown* 62. *padang gagulung* 63. *bagya or bingin*



64. *anchak* 65. *kuwĕk or tuwĕk* 66. *balé gading*

8: Hooykaas E-5 (ca. 1959) 1961 OF7 Bali OF7

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67. *rarakitan (r)akit lalima* 68. *rarakitan (r)akit tĕlu* 69. *rarakitan (r)akit patpat* 70. *ubi*

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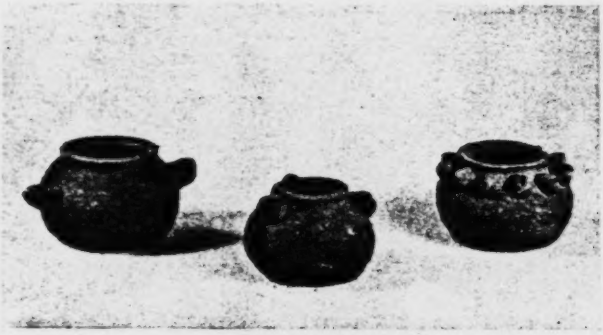

72. *kumba charatan manyonyo dadwa* 73. *kumba charatan manyonyo tĕlu* 74. *kumba charatan manyonyo solas*

1:Alkema & Bezemer--272 E-4, 5 (no date)1927 OB1 Indonesia OB1
Bali OF7

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x779

[237 cont.]
is very small. From the dated inscriptions, these appear to be chiefly from the thirteenth Çaka century, and thus from the Hindu-Javanese period; hence it would appear that there are no traces left of the old Hindu-Sumatran kingdoms. The principal Hindu relics were found in the Padang Highlands (the west coast residency of Sumatra). The most important are the Buddhist stupa Chandi Bongsoe at Moeara, Takoes on the Kampar River, and the same kind of monument near Tandjoeng Mêdan. Furthermore, brick ruins, known to the natives by the name biarô (biara), are found here, as well as in the Residency of Tapanoeli; the Biara Si Pamoetoeng in Tapanoeli at the mouth of the Panei River is of considerable size.

In the Palembang Residency, the subdivision [238] Lematang Ilir is the chief place of interest with chandis at Tanah Abang, Pandan, and Batoe Radja, and images at various places. In the Residency Jambi the chief relics are found in the vicinity of the capital.

In various residencies on Sumatra, including Riau and Bangka, various inscriptions, images, golden objects, etc. have also been found.

Ba
532
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Of greater importance from the point of view of the archaeologist are the antiquities of Bali and west Lombok; these include the remains of a chandi with a Sivaist image and a nandi (see p. 243) at Boekti, Boelèlèng Division, copper plates with dates running from the beginning of the tenth to the end of the twelfth century, A.D., old bronze objects, etc. In quite recent times, rock dwellings and tombs with decorative sculpture have been discovered at Tampak-Siring (southern Bali), as well as a relief, 27 meters high and hewn in rock, together with a hermitage, Tojo Poeloeh, discovered at Bedoeloe, Gianjar Subdivision (southern Bali).

Of the other provinces outside Java and Madura, the southern and eastern divisions of Borneo are really the only places where anything of interest has been found, and then almost exclusively in the Kutai Subdivision (see p. 262). It must not be forgotten, however, that most of the outer provinces have not yet been

Toradja OG11
New Guinea OJ1
Timor OF20
Batak OD8

Borneo OC1
Javanese OE5
Bali OF7
Nias OD11
Moluccas OH1

I
352
531
J
Br
855
501
531
352
M
N
Bl
322
532
769
776
Tr
I
531
322
531
321
Bt
N
321
411
Tm
415
531

[557 cont.] the printing boards for tattooing and the carrying boards for children among the Dajak, the paddles of these people. Fine examples of what the Javanese can do in this field are found in the woodwork of the gamelang stands, the gong standards, and the batik racks.

Although the wood carving in the ancestral images is crude and is not on the same level with what the Balinese do on images of the gods, the wooden images from Nias and the images of the spirits from the Moluccas are certainly not without merit in plasticity despite the crudeness of execution. They cannot be compared, of course, with the images of demons and gods, commonly even images of priests, made on Bali. These Balinese images are often painted, but they are also carved out of sandlewood, and then the wood is left white.

Dwellings have been discussed elsewhere in this work. What decorative art is to be seen there, as well as in bridgebuilding, for which one must go to [558] the Toradja lands in central Celebes in particular, is, of course, similar to bamboo carving in ornamentation and line, [illustration appears here] but because the process is easier, the work is deeper and light and shadow are in greater contrast.

Bamboo carving, wood carving, and the working of bone and [559] horn are much alike, and where people and animals [illustration appears here] lived together, the material for making things of bone and horn was always at hand. The number of articles made from both of these materials, however, is very small.

Arrowheads of bone are found, but almost exclusively among the Papuans, who also use a dagger made of human bone. Arm and leg bands of bone are also present. The Batak of Upper Langkat have a bone calendar, an oblong, flat piece of bone with three rows, each with ten little holes, with which they reckon the days, and the people of Timor have lime tubes of bone, for which they take advantage of the hollow bones. These tubes are the counterparts of bamboo

[Text continues on p. 628]

1:Alkema & Bezemer--629 E-4, 5 (no date)1927 OB1 Indonesia
Bali OFT

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Painted Figure from Bali, Representing Bhîma
Royal Ethnogr. Mus. Leiden